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GYPSY LORE

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(*1923*)

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CONTENTS[1]

[1] Complete Lists of the Reviews and of the Notes and Queries will be found in the Index under these headings.

CORRIGENDA

Page 11, ll. 16-18, 23, 24, for '*cor-*' read '*čor-*' throughout.

Page 17, ll. 22-3, for 'Welsh Midlands' read 'West Midlands.'

Page 27, note 2, ll. 3-4. Sandi and Santora Lovell are two different persons.

Page 30, note 6, for '*In Gypsy Tents*' read '*In Gipsy Tents.*'

Page 32, note 3, l. 1. Delete 'or Waini.'

Page 33, note 1, for '*In Gypsy Tents*' read '*In Gipsy Tents.*'

Page 85, note 1, l. 11, after 'Lincs' add 'Feb. 13, 1785.'

Page 151, l. 21, for '*Cappadocia*' read '*Asia Minor.*'

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THE GYPSY

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EXPENDITURE

Management, Correspondence, etc.—		
Stationery,	£4	6 10
Circulars and Notices,	3	1 0
Postages, Receipts, etc.,	6	7 6
Printing Journal, Vol. II, No. 1,	44	19 6
,, ,, ,, No. 2,	48	2 0
,, ,, ,, No. 3,	43	4 6
,, ,, ,, No. 4,	51	8 6
,, ,, ,, No. 5,	36	0 0
Despatch of Journals to Members,	6	17 7
Amount due to "Old" G. L. S. for sale of Monographs and vols. of Journal ("New Series") during 1923,	17	14 10
	£262	2 3

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Liabilities.

To Creditors—			
T. and A. Constable Ltd.,			£88 16 4
"Old" Gypsy Lore Society, 1922,	£20 12 10		
,, ,, 1923,	17 14 10		
		38	7 8
		£127	4 0

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I hereby certify that I have examined the Books, Accounts and Vouchers of the above statements are true and correct and in accordance therewith.

64 Gresham Street, London, E.C.2
2nd July 1924.

On 31st December 1923 there were subscriptions

LORE SOCIETY

ENDED 31ST DECEMBER 1923

INCOME

19 subscriptions for the year 1922,	£19 0 0
149 „ „ 1923 (net),	147 19 10
9 „ „ 1924,	9 0 0
Instalment completing subscription for 1913,	0 15 6
Donations,	17 9 6
12 copies of Volume I sold to Members (net),	11 18 0
Alexander Russell Bequest. Amount realised by sale of Books,	37 3 3
Amount received on behalf of "Old" G. L. S. for sale of Monographs and vols. of Journal ("New Series"),	17 14 10
Balance, being Excess of Expenditure over Income,	1 1 4
	£262 2 3

SHEET

ASSETS.

By Cash at Bank,		£70 4 1
„ Deficiency—		
Excess of Expenditure over Income, 1922,	£55 18 7	
Excess of Expenditure over Income, 1923,	1 1 4	
		56 19 11
		£127 4 0

TO THE MEMBERS.

"The Gypsy Lore Society" for the year ended 31st December 1923, and that

[Signed] H. A. MOURANT,
Chartered Accountant.

n arrear—6 for 1922, and 32 for 1923.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOLUME II PART 1

PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY, BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE LTD. AT THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. II YEAR 1923 No. 1

I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 16. Ō BŌRŌ DROMÉNGERŌ.

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

This is one of the early stories recorded by me from Matthew Wood at Corwen *ar'ī Kurunákī Kircíma*, in the spring of 1909. While it is not one of the best preserved of the Welsh Gypsy tales, the loose ends in which it abounds (as Professor Halliday points out elsewhere) have the special interest of connecting its episodes with those of other variants, the threads of which have been lost in our version.

Somewhat bald in an English translation, the Romanī itself is terse and idiomatic, and in its freedom from modern loan-words compares favourably with most Continental dialects. In this story, for example, there is but a single English borrowing, the verb *wɔntsáva*, which, moreover, could equally well be expressed by *kamɔ́s*.

A word as to the familiar tag of the raconteur: 'And they gave me a pudding (or a shilling) for telling you this lie.' Is it too far-fetched to see in this a recognition of that moral attitude which condemns all fairy-tales and novels on the ground that they are 'not true'? The story-teller has given us an interesting account of heroes who encounter dragons and three-headed giants, or undergo magical transformations, but he would be loth to deceive his friends, or leave his auditors under the impression that the events narrated were historic fact. With amiable frankness he removes any possible misconception by explaining at the end that all is humbug.

P'urō rai ťā ṗurī rōnī ťā yek čai ǰivénas ar'ī bōrē filišinátī. Ī ṗurī rigerélas ī čai aré na kek te piravén lā.

THE HIGHWAYMAN

An old gentleman and an old lady and their only daughter lived in a great hall. The old lady used to keep the girl within doors, so that no one might make love to her.

Bešélas tārnī rɔ̄nī pɔšē χestīár yeḱ dives ťā diḱás bɔ̄rē res te 'velas oprė́ ō drom. 'Prē 'vīás kī filišín. P'urō rai gyas avrí kī yov. Dīás les ō vast ťā ḱārdás les aré ī komóra. Ī tārnī rɔ̄nī 'vyas talé ťā gīás aré komóra kī yon. 'Prē 'ťas ō rai ťā dīás lā ō vast. Beštás ī rɔ̄nī talé. Avrí gyas ō p̣urō rai.

Rakerénas pen 'kanṓ ō dūī. Ō rai ǰalas ḱeré. "'Vā mē, rɔ̄nía, te dīḱá tukī pɔ̄palē." "Av sig, raia," χɔč'ī tārnī rānī. "'Vava 'ǰesavō dives." Dīás lā ō vast ťā gyas peskī.

Ō dives 'vīás, ťā 'vel ō rai. Talé gyas ī rɔ̄nī kokorí ťā 'yas leskō vast, ťā 'yas les aré komóra. Andīás čomónī te pīél ī reskī. "Kamésas tū, rɔ̄nía, te diḱés mīrō ťan?" "Aua," χɔč'ī tārnī rɔ̄nī. "Mīrō bērō sī talé akái." G'as ī rɔ̄nī ťā ridīás pes, ťā talé gyas lesa k'ō bērō. Gilé peŋī 'pārl ō pānī. Mukdé ō bērō ťā gilé 'prē'r'ō[1] gav. Lilé vērdō ťā mukdé ō gav.

'Prē ō drom ǰana, 'kanṓ. Dūr gilé. "Sī tīrī filišin dūrīál 'kanṓ?" "Nɔ̄, rɔ̄nī, sig ǰesa 'doi 'kanṓ." 'Vilé kī filišín. Diḱás

One day as the young lady was sitting by the window she saw a fine gallant coming up the road. He came up to the hall. The old gentleman went to meet him. He shook hands with him and invited him into the parlour. The young lady came down, and joined them in the parlour. The gallant rose and gave her his hand. The lady seated herself. The old gentleman left the room.

Now the two had a talk together. The gallant was taking his leave. 'I am coming again, my lady, to see thee.' 'Come soon, sir,' said the young lady. 'I will come on such and such a day.' He shook hands with her and went his way.

The day arrived, and the gallant appears. Down went the lady alone, and took his hand and led him into the parlour. She brought the gallant something to drink. 'Wouldst thou like, my lady, to see over my place?' 'Yes, I should,' said the young lady. 'My boat is moored just below.' The lady went and attired herself, and accompanied him down to the boat. They crossed the water. They left the boat, and went up into the town. They took a carriage and left the town behind.

Now they are travelling along the road. They went a great distance. 'Is thy castle still far away?' 'No, lady, thou wilt soon be there now.' They came to the castle. The lady gazed at

[1] *'prē'r'ō*] Pronounced as a single word *prērō* = *oprė́ aré ō*.

ī rōnī opré ō ťan. Dikás bōrō bār ťā hudár. Talé 'vías yov, ťā piradás ō hudár, ťā 'yas lakō vast ťā 'yas lā 'rē.

'Yas lā aré komóra ťā čidás[1] *lā te bešél talé. Tārdīás ī dōrī ťā 'rē 'vīás ī ǩerikanť. Dikás ī raklī tɔp ī rōnī. J̌undīás lā: čī na ṗendás. Ō rai ṗukadás lakī te andél marikyá ťā mol aré. Xɔlé; kedé te χɔn.*

Avrí gilé ō dūī te dikén truš'l ō ťan. Ō rai sikavélas sōr leskē kola lakī. Sikadás sau ťaná lakī. "Sō sī 'dova hudár odói?" ṗukadás[2] *ī rōnī. "Nai 'doi čī, rōnťa. P'urē kolá šī man te rigeráv odói."*

'Yas la 'vrīál akanṍ te dikél ī ǰukelén. "Sō sī 'dova bōrō ǰukel?" "Savō bōrō ǰukel?" ṗučtás ō rai. "Odóva lolō ǰukel." "Ī ratéskō ǰukel sī 'dová," ṗukadás ō rai.

Gilé aré ō ǩēr 'kanṍ. "Kamésa tū 'kava ťan?" "Aua," χɔč'ī rōnī. "Kamésas te ǰivés akái?" "Aua," χɔč'ī rōnī. Rakerdás kušī lavá truš'l te 'ven romerdé. "Aua mē," χɔč'ī rōnī. Kedé 'prē kitanés te 'ven romerdé 'kanṍ.

the place. She saw a great rock with a door in it. He alighted and opened the door, and took her hand and led her in.

He took her into the parlour, and begged her to be seated. He pulled the bell, and in came the housekeeper. She looked at the lady. She recognised her, but said nothing. The gallant told her to bring in cakes and wine. They ate; they made an end of eating.

They went out together to see over the place. The gallant showed her all his possessions. He showed her every room. 'What is that door over yonder?' exclaimed the lady. 'There is nothing there, my lady. I keep old lumber there.'

Now he took her outside to see his dogs. 'What is that huge dog?' 'Which huge dog?' asked the gallant. 'That red dog.' 'That is a bloodhound,' answered the gallant.

Now they re-entered the house. 'Dost thou like this place?' 'Yes,' quoth the lady. 'Wouldst thou like to live here?' 'Yes,' quoth the lady. He spoke a few words about their getting married. 'Yes, I should like to,' quoth the lady. They arranged to get married at once.

[1] *čidás*] In this usage, followed by a clause introduced by *te*, *čiv-* has the sense of 'to cause,' 'to make' = Germ. lassen.

[2] *ṗukadás*] The Welsh Gypsies not infrequently use *ṗukav-* where *ṗuć-* might be expected in the sense of 'to exclaim.'

" Mus ǰā maŋī mē,[1] rɔ̄nī, palal ī šošoiá mē melénsa.[2] Tārdē ī dōrī, rɔ̄nī, te wɔntsésa tū ťomónī." G'as pesk'ō rai. Tārdíás ī dōrī ī rɔ̄nī. Ī ḱerikaní 'vyas aré. Rakerdé kušī lavā kitanés: seménsa sas odoiá ī rɔ̄nīákī. 'Vilé te ǰunén vavērkén.

Avrí gilé ō dūī 'kanṓ te ṗīrén pen.[3] " Kai ťatíás tut?" " K'eré šomas mē kana ťatíás man." " Anī ṗušdás tutē te romerés les?" " Aua," χɔ̌'ī rɔ̄nī. " J̌unés sō ši-lō? Ī bɔ̄rē-droméskerō sī." " Sō ṗenésa?" χɔ̌'ī rɔ̄nī. Trašadí sas ī rɔ̄nī te šunél te bɔ̄rē-droméskerō sas.

Aré 'vilé 'kanṓ. Wɔntsélas ī rɔ̄nī te diḱél sō sas aré 'kava ťan, 'doi-kai sas ō hudár ṗandiló. " Av mansa, rɔ̄nī, piraváva les mē." 'Yas ō klizinó, tā piradás les. Aré gilé ō dūī. " Aď bita, rɔ̄níta, ǰava mē te lā dud." Gyas ťā andíás dud. Diḱás ī rɔ̄nī truš'l ō ťan. Akē mulē rɔ̄nīá bladé peŋē balénsa aré 'kaia komóra. Leŋō mas peř'las tɔp ō sanadīá.[4] Sɔ̄r kokaléŋerē[5] sas-lē. Trašdás ī rɔ̄nī te diḱél 'jesavē kolá.

'I must be off and away rabbiting with my comrades, my lady. Pull the bell, if thou wantest anything.' The gallant departed. The lady pulled the bell. The housekeeper came in. They spoke a few words together: she was a kinswoman of the lady. They soon got on friendly terms.

Now the two went out for a stroll. 'Where did he find thee?' 'I was in my own home when he found me.' 'Did he ask thee to marry him?' 'Yes,' said the lady. 'Dost thou know what he is? He is a highwayman.' 'What dost thou say?' exclaimed the lady. She was terrified to hear that he was a highwayman.

Now they came in. The lady wanted to see what was in the room with the locked door. 'Come with me, my lady, I will open it.' She got the keys, and opened it. They both went in. 'Wait a moment, madam, I will go and fetch a light.' She went and fetched a light. The lady glanced round the room. Lo! dead ladies were hanging by their hair in this room. Their flesh was dropping on to the floor. They were nothing but skeletons. The lady was horrified at beholding such things.

[1] *mē*] This somewhat rare construction in which the dative of the reflexive is followed by the nominative of the same pronoun generally denotes strong emphasis.

[2] *melénsa*] Welsh Gyp. *mel* beside *mal*=Cont. Gyp. *amál*, *mal*, Eng. Gyp. *mal*.

[3] *ṗīrén pen*] *ṗīr-*, 'to walk,' when used reflexively has the sense 'to go for a walk,' 'to take a stroll.'

[4] *sanadīá*] *sanadīá*, which I translate 'floor,' is the plural of *sanadí*, 'board,' 'plank,' Mik. viii. 61.

[5] *kokaléŋerē*] gen. plur. of *kokalō*, 'bone.'

Avrí gilé tā 'prē ō pōrdos. Piradé hudár komōrīátī. P'ārdō sunakái sas 'kava ťan. "P'ārder tī počī ťā tala ǰasa 'meŋī." Talé 'vilé 'kanś ťā ridilé pen. Gilé peŋī.

J̌anas arśl ō ruḱá. "Ač!" χɔč'ī ḱerikaní. "Šunáva ī ǰukelén, ťā sī ō bōrō ratéskō ǰukel lensa. T'iléna 'men." Pɔšeďér 'vena ō ǰukelá. "J̌as te garavás 'men," χɔč'ī rōnī. Gilé te garavén pen. Garadé pen tala ī kōréskō ruḱ.[1] *J̌ukelá 'vena truš'l lendī. Na čaladé pen kek. Dūredēr ǰana ō ǰukelá. Gilé pɔs te na šunénas len kek.*

"J̌as 'meŋī 'kanś, rōnťa." Gilé peŋī arśl ō ruḱá ťā 'vilé ar'ō bōrō drom. Gilé ō dūī talé k'ō bērō. 'Vilé k'ō bērō. 'Doi sas dūī dōrīavéŋē mūrš. "Len 'men pārdál; wɔntsáva te ǰā ḱeré. J̌asa te romerás."[2] *"Auáua, rōnťa," χɔč'ō dūī mūrš. Aré ō bērō gilé. K'eré 'vilé. "J̌an tumé pɔlē 'kanś te len ī res pārdál."*

Pɔlē gilé ťā 'vilé k'ō gav ťā 'doi sas ō rai. "Kai šenas tumé?"

They left the room and went upstairs. They opened the door of another room. This place was full of gold. 'Fill thy pocket and then let us begone.' Now they came downstairs and dressed themselves. They set off.

They were passing through the wood. 'Stop,' said the housekeeper. 'I hear the dogs, and the great bloodhound is with them. They will catch us.' The dogs drew nearer. 'Let us go and hide ourselves,' quoth the lady. They went to hide. They hid beneath a thorn-tree. The dogs surrounded them. They did not stir. The dogs coursed on. They passed out of hearing.

'Now let us make off, my lady.' They passed through the wood, and came out on to the high road. They both went down to the boat. They reached the boat. Two sailors were there. 'Take us across; I want to return home. We are going to get married.' 'Ay, ay, your ladyship,' said the two men. They stepped aboard. They reached home. 'Go ye back now, and bring your master across.'

The sailors returned, and reached the town, and there was their

[1] *kōréskō ruḱ*] I translate literally 'thorn-bush,' but since in Welsh Gyp. *baχtalō kŏrō*, or 'lucky thorn,' is one of the names for holly, this may be the tree intended. Cp. my note to 'De Little Bull-Calf' (*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 208): 'Holly is *mi-duveléskro ruk* . . . and Gypsies pitching their tent against a holly-bush are under divine protection.'

[2] *romerás*] Meaning, of course, not herself and her companion but herself and their master. Cp. below the sailors' speech to the gentleman: *Puḱ'adás 'meŋī ī rōnī*, etc.

ṗučdás ō rai. "Šamas 'mē, raia, te las ī rōnī pārḍál ō dōrīav P'ukadás 'meŋī ī rōnī te ǰanas tumé te 'ven romerdé; ṗukadás 'meŋī te 'vas te las tut, raia!" Trašadō sas ō rai te šunél. Aré ō bērō g'as lensa.

'Vīás kī rōnīákō ťem ťā 'čas tala ī filišín. Ō dūī mūrš učerdé ō sastārn talé. 'Prē gyas kī filišín. Dikás ī res ī tārnī rōnī. Talé 'vīás. Gyas k'ō hudár. Ō rai dīás ō vast lakī. "Av aré," χɔč'ī rōnī, ťā 'yas les aré ī komóra. Rakerdé pen bita. "Gīóm mē ǩeré, raia, te kera'u īzā 'mōrē romeribenáskī."

"J̌ā maia ǩeré, rōnía, šī man čomónī te kerá. 'Vesa tū te bišavés man bita, rōnía, 'prē ō drom?" "Aua mē, keseráva mē," χɔč'ī rōnī. Avrí gilé ō dūī ťā talé pɔš'ō dōrīáv. Ī restī sas aré leskō 'zī te mārél lā.

Gilé bita dūredér pɔš'ō dōrīav ťā 'prē bōrē bāréstī 'čenas. "Tārdē tī šuba. Būt kuškí ši-lī te 'vel učerdí aré londō pānī." Tārdīás ī rōnī peskī šuba. "Tārdē tī čoχa, rōnía. Būt kuškí ši-lī te ǰal aré londō pānī." Tārdīás ī rōnī peskī čoχa. "Tārdē odóva gad, rōnía. Būt kuškō ši-lō te ǰal aré londō pānī." "Te 'vā

master. 'Where have ye been?' he asked. 'We have been taking the lady across the water, sir. The lady told us that ye were going to be married; she told us to return for thee, sir.' The gallant was surprised to hear this. He went into the boat with them.

He reached the lady's land, and stopped below the great hall. The two men cast anchor. He went up to the hall. The young lady saw the gallant. She came down. She went to the door. The gallant gave her his hand. 'Come in,' said the lady, and led him into the parlour. They had a little talk. 'I returned home, my lord, to make ready my clothes for our wedding.'

'I also am going home, my lady, I have some business to attend to. Wilt thou come a little way, my lady, to set me on the road?' 'That I will, I should like to,' quoth the lady. The two went out, and walked down to the sea. The gallant intended to murder her.

They went on a little further by the edge of the sea, and stopped on a high cliff. 'Strip off thy gown. It is too good to be cast into the salt water.' The lady stripped off her gown. 'Strip off thy petticoat, my lady. It is too good to go into the salt water.' The lady stripped off her petticoat. 'Strip off that shift, my lady. It is too good to go into the salt water.' 'If I am to

mē te tārdá mō gad, niser tō šērō okotár." Oǰǒ kedás ō rai. Niserdás ō dumō ki yoi. Gīás ī rɔ̄nī palal lestī ťā učerdás les aré ō dōrīáv. Ar'ō pānī mērdás.

Garadás pes ī rɔ̄nī pɔs te 'vela rātí. Rātí 'vīás 'kanǒ, ťā keré gyas ī rɔ̄nī aré peskō gad. Na kamélas te ƥenél čī peskē dadéskī ťā peskē dakī. Gyas te rivél pes. Talé 'vīás ťā gyas aré ī komóra. " Kai šanas tū, čaia ?" " Mē bībīása šomas mē."

Gyas talé pɔƥ'lē k'ō bērō te peserél ī dūī mūršén. Peserdás len, ťā gilé peƴ'ō dūī mūrš.

T'ā dilé man bɔ̄rī goi te ƥená tuméƴī akáva bɔ̄rō χoχiben.

strip off my shift, turn thy head the other way.' The gallant did so. He turned his back to her. The lady stole behind him, and pushed him into the sea. He was drowned.

The lady hid herself until nightfall. Night came on at length, and the lady returned home in her shift. She did not wish to say anything to her father and mother. She went to clothe herself. She came down and went into the parlour. 'Where hast thou been, daughter?' 'I have been with my aunt.'

She went down again to the boat to pay off the two men. She paid them, and the two men sailed away.

And they gave me a big pudding for telling you this big lie.

[This story belongs to the same genus as *Laula* (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. pp. 372-6) and *The Maid of the Mill* (*J. G. L. S.*, 3rd Series, i. pp. 97-110), but represents another distinct species, which may perhaps be called the *Bluebeard* type. For its variants and their distribution the following may be consulted:—Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, i. pp. 398-412; Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales* (Oxford, 1888), pp. lx-lxiv; Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (London, 1885), p. 78; Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 249.

There is a natural tendency of stories belonging to the different species within the main group to lose their distinctive form and to become assimilated to each other through the interchangeability of incidents in oral transmission. They present in fact a particular example of one of the disintegrating tendencies of oral transmission which in varying degree is universally operative. A similarity of plot or an association of ideas will often lead a narrator to substitute in a given story an incident which properly

belongs to another. The tendency of oral transmission makes in fact for formlessness and a disintegration of the original design.

This is one of the reasons why a story, the outlines of which have been permanently fixed by being written down and published, has the greater power of survival, a fact which in turn may explain why so large a proportion of the folk-tales of Europe in the form in which they are now current are traceable to an Eastern origin. The development of story-telling as a professional art and, above all, the permanent record of stories in the early literature of the East, gave the Oriental versions a vitality which made them ultimately dominant in the oral tradition of the West.

Of this tendency of a literary version to become dominant Perrault's famous book provides an example. His *Bluebeard*, which consists of popular material to some degree consciously worked up, has almost ousted other versions from the oral tradition of France, and has exercised a wide influence in Europe.[1]

The most characteristic independent form of the story contains features which are absent from Perrault and, except for one possible indication, from our tale. Three sisters are lured in turn to the subterranean dwelling of a villain (the Devil, a gallant, highwayman, dwarf, magician, or magical animal), often by the lure of chasing an animal decoy. Each in turn disobeys the order not to enter the forbidden room.[2] The first two are detected by the indelible stain upon the key or some other object. The third, however, avoids detection, restores her sisters to life, and persuades the villain to carry them home in a chest which she wishes to send to her parents. She escapes herself, either (*a*) by substituting a doll in her place and persuading the villain to carry home another chest in which she has hidden, or (*b*) by escaping recognition in a feathered disguise, as in Grimm, No. 46, or (*c*) by demanding leave to visit her parents or to return home for her trousseau.

[1] See Lang, *loc. cit.*, Bolte und Polívka, *loc. cit.*

[2] An incident takes the place of the *Forbidden Room* in some Greek, Slavonic, and Italian Bluebeard stories and is combined with it in a Rumanian version, but is apparently restricted to the Near East. The heroine is ordered by the villain to consume human flesh, bones, or heart, and attempts to evade the test are revealed by an answer given by the rejected morsels to the villain's inquiry as to where they are. Kretschmer has made the ingenious suggestion that this incident may have its origin in the Greek popular conception of Charos or Death. See Bolte und Polívka, i. 410-11. But attractive though this explanation may seem, it does not cover the curious popularity of cannibalism as a theme in other folktales of this area, *e.g.* the Near Eastern type of Cinderella.

'The great rock' in which our highwayman dwells is perhaps reminiscent of this version. Cf. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, ii. p. 279, 'the hill opened and they went in,' or Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, pp. 98 foll., in which the girls are successively enticed into a trap-door in a cleft in the rock.

The Forbidden Room, which also supplies an incident in stories of the type of *Marienkind*, Grimm, No. 3, occurs in Oriental stories, but in the East its contents are not those of a butcher's shop, and their discovery, if it involves the hero in difficulty and adventure, leads to his ultimate success. Bluebeard's chamber seems to be peculiar to Europe.[1]

A forbidden cupboard containing skulls which have been picked clean occurs in an Indian story, though it is not that of *Bluebeard* (Steel and Temple, *Wide Awake Stories*, pp. 13-14). The hero is thereby warned that the Brahman who has offered hospitality is really a ghûl. The vocabulary employed by the teller, a Moslem, suggests Arabic influence. In any case this is, I think, an exception, and though *The Forbidden Room* is common enough in Oriental stories, *The Forbidden Room* which contains human remains, the commonest type in the West, is rare in the East.

Our story lacks the betrayal by the tell-tale stain upon the key. A Dutch variant (Bolte und Polívka, i. 407), in which the key, though formally retained, has ceased to be vital to the story, supplies a parallel to our housekeeper. The heroine opens the forbidden room and finds there an old woman preparing tripe, who rather crudely informs her that she will provide the material for her morrow's task. She becomes friendly, however, and eventually helps her to escape.

It is perhaps worth noticing that this version exhibits a tendency for an unskilful narrator to drop out the two elder sisters. The story opens with a cobbler who has three daughters, one of whom an apparently wealthy suitor takes off to his castle. Her adventures follow, and only after her interview with the old woman are we told:—'Man muss aber wissen, dass die zwei vorigen Schwestern auf diesselbe Weise waren umgekommen.'

The escape of the heroine is a part of the story which for obvious reasons is peculiarly liable to contamination with incidents belonging to the other members of the allied group of stories.

[1] See Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. 198 foll.

Our version suggests a combination of two really inconsistent accounts: (1) a fugitive escape, with adventures like those of the *Maid of the Mill*; and (2) the escape upon the deceitful plea of returning for a trousseau. The bloodhound episode is not consistent with the subsequent behaviour of the villain and heroine.

The final destruction of the villain is not uncommon in these stories, but the incident of the thrifty disrobing of the heroine which gives her an opportunity to take advantage of the ruse of modesty to push the villain into the water primarily belongs not to folktale but to one form of the ballad of *The Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight*, which is distributed throughout Europe. See Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, i. 22-62, 485; ii. 496; iii. 496; iv. 440; v. 206, 285. The reluctance of the heroine to tell her parents may also be ultimately derived from a recollection of the conclusion of the ballad in which the parrot is bribed not to reveal what has happened.

After rightly dismissing the theory that the hero of Perrault's *Bluebeard* was the historical Gilles de Laval, Maréchal de Retz, Bolte und Polívka remark, 'Vermutlich hängt das Märchen näher zusammen mit der in ganz Europa verbreiteten Ballade von dem Lustmörder, der von einer in den Wald geführten Jungfrau oder von deren Bruder erstochen wird.' This conjecture our story, which is a combination of the *Bluebeard* folktale with the ballad, tends to confirm. Child, *op. cit.*, iii. 496, quotes a story from Brittany (Sebillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, i. 341, No. 62), which is similarly a combination of the *Maid of the Mill* with a version of the ballad. In this the villain is induced to turn his eyes away to spare the heroine's modesty, and thus affords her an opportunity to seize his dagger and despatch him.

Both the ballad and the folktale appear to belong to Europe, and I am glad to find that the exhaustive notes of Bolte und Polívka confirm the view which I expressed in Dawkins, *loc. cit.*, that the Bluebeard story must have reached Asia Minor from the West and not from the East. W. R. H.]

II.—STUDIES IN ROMANI PHILOLOGY

By Alfred C. Woolner

II

Present Indicative

1. An analysis of the Romani verb falls into three main heads: Present (or Future), Imperfect, and Perfect or Compound tenses. It is only in the Compound forms that one could suspect the presence of pronominal affixes, as in *e.g.* Multānī, *dittos* 'he gave,' and in many other Indian dialects of the Outer Band. It appears, however, that these Compound forms are made up of past participles and the verb 'to be,' though indeed the forms of that verb 'to be' are difficult to explain.

2. We may first deal with the Present Indicative, our problem being whether its forms throw any light on its place of origin.

The typical European scheme is:—

corav(a)	*coras(a)*
cores(a)	*coren(a)*
corel(a)	*coren(a)*

(Miklosich, *Mundarten*, xi. p. 36 f.)

There are shorter forms, *e.g.* Russian Gypsy, *marla, marna* instead of *marela, marena*; similarly Slovak Gypsy, *kerla, kerna* (von Sowa, *Mundart der slovakischen Zigeuner*, p. 90).

In German Gypsy *-s-* becomes *-h-*; hence we have *coreha* 'thou stealest,' *coraha* 'we steal.' (Finck, *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, p. 15.)

In Spanish Gypsy the 3rd person singular has been preserved, but this form has been conjugated according to Spanish grammar to supply the rest.

Thus we have	*terelo*	*terelamos*	cp. Span. hablo	hablamos
	terelas	*terelais*	hablas	hablais
	terela	*terelan*	habla	hablan

Where Romani grammar is decaying forms have been contaminated by the local language, and forms are used incorrectly. Nevertheless we can trace the same typical scheme in all the European dialects. The only notable variations are in the verb 'to be,' *isom, som*, etc., and *kamama* (Gk. G. Paspati, *Études sur les Tchinghianés*, pp. 116, 262; Russian G. Mikl. xi. p. 39), *kamam* (Rum. G. Mikl. xi. p. 37).

3. In the Asiatic dialects one might expect to find forms more archaic than those of Europe; or at least survivals of more archaic features which would help to explain the development of the later forms. Thus Paspati discovered in Asia Minor the 1st person singular in *-mi, e.g. janemi* 'I know.' This he took to be identical with the Sanskrit ending, and he supposed that the Tchingianés Rouméliotes had changed *-mi* into *-va*.

On the whole, however, the Asiatic dialects are disappointing in this respect. Armenian Gypsy appears to have the ordinary endings of the Armenian verb. In the Nuri dialect 'the original Aryan tense-system has utterly broken down under the influence of the Arabic verb,' and 'while such Nuri personal endings as are necessary have been retained, their syntactic treatment is now purely Semitic.' (R. A. Stewart Macalister, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 289.) The forms given in Macalister's grammar may be compared with those recorded by Miklosich for Syrian Gypsy (xi. p. 39). The fact that all these Syrian forms and all Macalister's Positive forms end in *-i* indicates some levelling process, so that one may doubt where the *-i* is original.

4. As a starting point we may take the European scheme as given above. The constancy with which this is repeated, wherever Romani grammar is intact, indicates that something very like this was the system brought into Europe. The Asiatic forms must be scrutinised with a view to determining how far they preserve more ancient features, or to what extent they have been contaminated by other languages.

5. In a mixed language there is always the possibility that even the Indicative may combine elements derived from different sources. On the other hand, there are such strong family resemblances in the Indicatives of various Indo-European languages, that in comparing individual forms one may be influenced by similarities that are rather due to coincidence than to close connection. Marathi has a 2nd person singular in *-es*, so had Cornish. Ultimately the two go back to the same Indo-European type **esi*, as does Romani *-es*; but this in itself is obviously no more an indication that the Gypsies came from Bombay than that they came from Land's End!

Again we find in Cornish *carav* 'I love.' Now if Cornish were spoken in Asia Minor, *-av*, *-es* taken by themselves might suggest a possible connection with Romani; but if we continue the paradigm, any such fancied connection vanishes.

The possibility of such ambiguity should be borne in mind when a single form in Asia coincides with the Romani type. For example, Kalāshā has *ti-el* 'he strikes or will strike'; Shiṇā *šid-en* 'they strike'; and Pašai *han-īk-as* 'we strike.' We must not leap to the conclusion that the Romani types are derived from a mediaeval form of Kalāshā, Shiṇā, or other Dardic language, though indeed they may be.

6. To compare the European Romani scheme with the Iranian, Indian and Dardic systems, we may for the first two take either the oldest types on record or more modern forms; for Dardic we can take only the more modern forms. Miklosich naturally began with Sanskrit. It is quite possible to derive the Romani scheme from the Sanskrit Indicative:—

-āmi, -asi, -ati, -āmas, (-atha), -anti.

1st person singular. In Rom. *-av* certainly *v* represents an older *m*, cf.:—

gav, Skt. *grāmo*, Pkt. *gamo*, Marathi *gāv* or *gẵv*, Hindi *gẵv*, *gāū* (but Sindhi *gāmu*, Guj. *gām*, Bashgalī, Kalāshā *grom*).

nav, Skt. *nāma*, Pkt. *nāma*, Apa. *nāuṇ*, Marathi *nāv* or *nẵv*, Hindi *nẵv*, Kashmiri *nāv*.

Similarly we find a 1st person singular *-aū* in Apabhraṃśa, Eastern Hindi, Braj, and Rājasthānī.

In all these the final *i* has been dropped.

The Marathi form *-ẽ* from **āĭm*, however, indicates that *-āmi* the primary ending has been merged in the secondary ending *-am* (of imperfect and aorist).

2nd person singular *-asi*, *-*ais-*, *-es* is perfectly regular.

3rd person singular *-ati*, *-adi*, *-*ali*, *-*ail*, *-el* is also regular, cf. *yuvatī* 'young woman,' Rom. *džuvel*. This is the normal treatment of *-t-* between vowels in Romani. Thus we have *šel* corresponding to Skt. *śatam*, *devel* from *devatā* and *phral* from *bhrātā*. Exceptions are *dai* (cf. *dhāti*) which appears to be an Iranian form like the Panjabi word *dai* 'a nurse': *biš* and *štar*. *Rati*, *rat* 'night' is from *rātrī*, *rat* 'blood' from *rakta*. *Būti* 'work' is doubtful.

Of course Rom. *-l* corresponds also to Indian *-l*.

1st person plural. The Sanskrit form is most commonly *-āmo*, but *-āmaḥ* before surds and *in pausá*; while the original *-āmas* is kept only before *t-*, *th-*. In the Vedic language there was a longer form *-āmasi*, but Pali and the Prakrits had *-āmo*. It is

noteworthy that *-s* survives here. Why not *-*avas*? Perhaps contracted to avoid confusion with the 1st person singular imperfect; but cf. Ḍōḍā Sirājī *māras* 'we strike.'

2nd person plural is transferred from the 3rd person.

3rd person plural. The *-t-* is preserved in Marathi, Singhalese, and Oriya; (also apparently in Syrian Gypsy; *jānti*, Mikl. Otherwise *-nd* as in Macalister's Nuri, which may be the characteristic Persian ending).

Other Indian languages have forms in *-n* (Bengali *-en*, *-an*, Sindhi *-ani*, Panjabi *-an*, *-aṇ*, etc.) or derivatives of the Apa. *-ahiṃ* (Hindi *-ẽ*, etc.). Of these M. Bloch remarks that neither one nor the other can apparently be explained by normal phonetics (*La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 235).

7. Such a derivation from Sanskrit throws little light on the source of Romani. The Iranian indicative, and we may presume the old Dardic indicative, are ultimately derived from forms practically identical with those of Vedic Sanskrit (see Grierson, *Piśāca Languages*, p. 57). Yet there are three points which strike us, when we consider the parallel development elsewhere; (i) that Romani retains *-s*; (ii) the 3rd singular in *-el*; and (iii) the double series *-av*, *-ava*, etc.

The first point is sufficient to rule out an Iranian origin of the scheme. Neither ancient nor modern Iranian has retained *-s* in verb endings.

Final *-s* in the 2nd singular occurs in some Indian (and Dardic) languages, *viz.* Marathi, Bengali, Eastern Hindi and Western Pahārī; Kalāshā *ties* 'thou strikest'—Khowār *dos*, Gawarbatī *limes*, etc., Kashmiri *mārakh* shows the familiar root and *kh* represents an older *ś*. Shiṇā and Bashgalī have yet other roots and no *-s*. Ḍōḍā Sirājī has *māres*, and several neighbouring Hill dialects have similar forms. On the other hand the Central languages with Oriya and Sindhi have *-ai*, *-e*, etc. with no *-s*. Final *-s* in the 1st plural occurs in Ḍōḍā Sirājī (*māras* 'we strike') which is classed with Kashmiri. Bashgalī has *-miš* (cf. as a coincidence Turki *-miz*), Pashai *-as*, and Khowār *-īsi*. Other Dardic dialects have *-k*, *-n*, *-am*, *-av*. In India proper we have typically a nasalised vowel, never a sibilant.

8. To the 3rd singular in *-el* there is no parallel in the Iranian family. Even in Pashtu where *d* regularly becomes *l* (*lui* 'two,' *las* 'ten') the 3rd singular ends in *-ī* or *-īna*.

Dardic Kalāshā has *ti-el* 'he strikes or will strike' for which

Khowār has *dor*. Bashgalī has distinct future forms with *-l-*; *e.g. vī-lom* 'I shall strike,' *vī-lā* 'he will strike.'

This suggests the possibility that while Rom. *-el* is derived from *-ati*, the longer form *-ela* may be an *l*-future.

The *l-* future occurs in the forms *-lo*, *-lā*, *-l*. It is frequently declined for feminine and plural. Sometimes pronominal affixes are added. It is added to the present indicative or to the root. It is sometimes used as a present. So in Bhojpurī Simple Present or Aorist *dēkhē*, Present Indicative *dēkhelā* 'he sees or will see' (N.B. *dēkhalās* 'he or thou saw'). The *l-* form does not necessarily run through the whole tense; *e.g.* Nāgpuriā (corrupt Bhojpurī) *dēkhonā* 'I see or will see,' *dēkhainā* 'they see or will see,' but 3rd singular *dēkhelā*.

Such *l-* forms are found in Bhojpurī, Nepali, Rajasthani and in numerous Hill dialects extending from Kumāunī to Kuḷuī (*mārlā*), Churāhī (*mārelā*), Pangwāḷī (*bišal* 'will sit' without distinction of persons), and the extreme west of Pahārī.

The derivation of this *-l*, *-lā* is doubtful (*vide* Hoernle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, pp. 341, 357; Grierson, *Piśāca Languages*, p. 56; J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, p. 241).

9. If the suggestion of the last paragraph be correct, it offers also an explanation of the double series of forms in Romani. Of the final *-a* Miklosich found no historical explanation. He regarded it as a recent development, chiefly because of the accent —*keráva*, *kerása*, *keréla*—and suggested these forms might have arisen from the Imperfect *kerávas*, etc. (*Mundarten*, xi. p. 37, 7). The accent is not always on the original final syllable; Hungarian Gypsy has *kérel*.

Wherever a distinction is recorded the long forms are assigned a future meaning rather than the shorter ones. Thus Rumanian Gypsy *-a* generally with future meaning (Mikl.), Bohemian Gypsy with future meaning (Mikl.), so Slovak Gypsy (Kalina and von Sowa), Transylvanian Gypsy (Wlislocki).

If *kerela* was regarded as more of a Future than *kerel*, the other forms would be readily formed by analogy, so *kerava*, *kerasa*, etc. In the Greek dialect the future meaning of the long forms became obscured and a new Future had to be invented by prefixing *kam-*, a feature that does not appear in all the dialects.

There is no other parallel to this double set of forms in India.

In Iran there are sporadic instances, *e.g.* Kurdish 3rd singular

in *-it* or *-ita*. In Kashmiri *-a* is added to give an interrogative force.

10. To sum up then; the affinities of the European endings *-av*, *-en* are ambiguous, *-es* points to Dardic or Outer Indian, *-el* and *-as* point to Dardic, *-elu* could come from a wider area including all the Himalayas.

It is noteworthy that the closest resemblance seems to be found in dialects which are classified as Dardic (with Kashmiri, itself a mixed language), but which have come into contact with, and shade off into, the dialects of India proper. Such Dardic or N. Western features do not necessitate an *Urheim* in the remote valleys of Kafiristan. Sir George Grierson has shown that this type of language was once spoken over a much wider area. Dardic peculiarities can be traced a long way along the Himalayas. Doubtless also Dardic dialects have retreated up the valleys before Western Panjabi and Pashtu.

The Asiatic forms suggest contamination. The schematic addition of *-i* makes even *-mi* suspect; *asti* may be Iranian *ast* plus *i*. If these are genuine survivals, they are extremely archaic but quite ambiguous. 3rd singular *-ar* may suggest Kowār *-r*; 3rd plural *-and* looks Iranian but Bashgalī has *-nd*. On the whole the Asiatic scheme seems to have travelled further from the Indian (or Dardic) than the European.

There remain the forms peculiar to the verb 'to be.' These form a special group affecting the form of the Compound tenses and may be discussed separately.

III.—NOTES ON ENGLISH GYPSY CHRISTIAN NAMES

(*Continued from vol.* 1, *p.* 90)

By E. O. WINSTEDT

THOUGH the Gypsies' foreign travels are so poorly represented in their names, it is probable that, if the unusual Christian names and forms of names of the ordinary population of England had been more carefully studied and located, much might be adduced about the travels and haunts of particular families of Gypsies in England. Even from these scanty notes it would appear that the name Million among the Lees points to a

sojourn in Kent, where Remillion is found,[1] the Coliberry and Pheasant of the Bucklands to Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, the Maresko of the Smiths to East Anglia, the Aslog of the Herons to the north of England. The Newcombe of the Herons and Bosses, as will be shown later, was almost certainly picked up in Buckinghamshire, and so too may their England have been, as Old England, often shortened to England, ran through several generations of a family named Goodson at Weston Turville in the eighteenth century.

Joiner is a name among the Buckleys who travel round London, and I find it in use at Putney in the case of 'Joiner Brookes, lab^{r}.' who died, aged eighty, in 1810.[2] There also occurs a 'Latynne s. of John Benham' in 1726,[3] with which one may compare Latton Welbecke, a name at Caversham in 1632,[4] and the Gypsy name Ladin or Ladan, though the latter may be Aladin.[5] The Miller of the north country Herons and the Taiso of the Boswells may have been adopted when they too centred round London, as Miller White is found in the same register as early as 1732 and Tash and Tyson as Christian names in 1749 and 1799.[6]

Muldobriar and Merifil (Merrifield), though found in families now travelling North England, point probably to the Welsh Midlands and the Welsh border, though both names occur elsewhere too.[7] From the same locality or from Wales itself came the Modiwench (Modi, Mudi) and the Fainiul of the Smiths and Groome's Fawnio, if I am right in taking the two latter for

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, iv. p. 449, where Shipbourne near Tunbridge is mentioned particularly. Weekley, *Surnames*, p. 180, suggests that Million as a surname is the French Émilien: and Remillion may perhaps be a corruption of the same name. A precisely similar corruption occurs in the entry 'Maria the daughter of Emanuel & Requila Buckley' among the baptisms at Shelstone, Bucks., February 16, 1772, as there is no doubt that this Requila is identical with the Aquilà Draper who married Emmanuel Buckley at Castle Thorpe, also in Bucks., on October 28, 1769.

[2] *Parish Registers of Putney*, p. 472.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 195. The child was buried a few days later as Lycyne Benham (p. 242).

[4] MS. Ch. Oxon. 2458 in the Bodleian Library.

[5] Is this the origin of Latynne and Latton too? Saladin was in use in Oxford in the seventeenth century in the forms Saladine, Soladine, Soladell, Solodell.

[6] *Parish Registers of Putney*, pp. 190, 311, 450. The feminine Taishan of the Bosses is a contraction of Letitia according to our honorary secretary, perhaps formed by analogy with Naishan (Nation), though it looks as though it might originally have come from a Puritan Lamentation.

[7] For Milbrough cf. A. R. Bax, *Surrey Allegations*, p. vii.: and for Merrawell, the *Parish Registers of Putney*, p. 565.

corruptions of the Welsh name Myfanwy, which is in use in Shropshire. Berkeley, used by the Gormans, is found in Herefordshire.[1] Mairik too is the Welsh name Meurig or Meuric: and I am assured on good authority that Mairik, the correct pronunciation of it, could only have been picked up in the heart of Wales. In South Wales or on the borders the name is pronounced Merik, and usually written Merrick. This shows that the modern Lockes are wrong in thinking that they are the first of their family to invade Wales, since their great-grandfather Henry had a son Mairik. Either the parents or, if he was named after some earlier member of the family, some of the ancestors of this Mairik must have been familiar with Wales.[2]

The southern Hearns used Rice as a Christian name: but that is no strong evidence of their personal acquaintance with Wales, as, though it is undoubtedly a form of the Welsh Rhys, it is found in use in England.[3] Many Welsh names occur among the Gypsy families now in Wales; but, as they are generally used in the original forms, I shall not refer to them, save to suggest an origin for the odd-looking Gēnus, borne by one of the Lees. Janus, a recent name among the Herons, is more likely to be an assimilated form of the same name than to be its origin; and the name defeated me until I noticed at the head of a family tree in the Devonshire Visitations one Engainus de Montgomery, Baron de Carew.[4] Now it appears that the name of the Welsh Saint Eniawn or Enion—which is given as a Christian name in Camden's list of names—is capable of becoming Engan as in the church name Llanengan: and that in some dialects the same change takes place in the word *einion*, an anvil.[5] This suggests that Engainus may be a variant of the ordinary Latinised forms of that name, Anianus, and Gypsies often use the older Latin forms of names, for instance Lucas, Matthias, Timotheus. It is by no means improbable that Union, a name attributed to a Kentish Lee of a hundred years ago, and to one of the Chilcots a little later, is another corruption of Enion. Kentish Gypsies including

[1] Berkeley Bond, 1808 (M. Hopton, *The Registers of Munsley*, Par. Reg. Soc., vol. 46, p. 31).

[2] Wester Boswell considered the Gloucestershire Locks to be descendants of Welsh Gypsies (Norwood, *Our Gypsies*, p. 73).

[3] *E.g.* in the register of Somerton, Oxon., 1780 (Rice Wise), and at Sarsden, Oxon. (Rice Shepherd buried in 1729).

[4] Colby, *Visitation of Devon, 1564*, p. 35.

[5] S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, vol. ii. (London, 1908), p. 423.

a Lee had the wherewithal to poison pigs as early as 1760,[1] and they may have found it and a Welsh name or two round the lead mines of Shropshire. If Bissell is a mistake for Bozel (Boswell) in the entry 'John son of Howell & Mary Bissell [Travellers],' baptized at Charlbury, January 10, 1777, the Boswells too must have travelled in or near Wales before that date. I had supposed that a still earlier connection of both the Boswells and the Hearns with Wales was proved by the marriage at Spelsbury, close to Charlbury, on March 18, 1743, of 'John Boswell of Aberistwith in Cardiganshire and Margaret Hearne of Llanimtbether by Lic.,' since it seemed unlikely that any one but Gypsies would go so far and to so obscure a place to be married: and I still think it probable that they were Gypsies, though I find that Boswell described himself in the marriage bond as a 'yeoman.'[2]

More definite evidence of locality is afforded occasionally by the use of actual place names as Christian names,[3] a practice found among gorgios too.[4] For instance Clevansy and Signett, though probably, as already suggested, they owe quite as much to the names Clemency and Sigenot as to any place name, would hardly have occurred to Gypsies who were not familiar with the places so called. Taiso too, if not borrowed from the gorgio Tyson, is much more probably derived from the place Tysoe in Northamptonshire than from the Italian poet Tasso, suggested by Crofton: and Dover Heron's name may be a relic of the days when the Herons travelled the south of England. Brinkton and Glympton, both names of Claytons who would have been born in the latter half of the eighteenth century, would seem to be similar instances: and if so, they show that the Claytons who are usually connected with Leicestershire were familiar with Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire at that date. Descendants of one of them still live at or travel round Banbury. Windsor Lovell, Hickley

[1] Edw. Kemp, alias Scamp, Richard Ingram and Diverus Lee, 'three strolling Gypsies,' were sentenced to one year's imprisonment and to find sureties for their good behaviour for two years for poisoning the hogs of Mr. Lee, of Sevenoaks in Kent, at Rochester Assizes in March 1760 (*Oxford Journal*, March 29, 1760).

[2] Cf. MS. Top. Oxon., c. 56 (p. 167) in the Bodleian Library—a list of marriage bonds, not the original documents.

[3] It is possible that some of these are only nicknames. Titsey, the name of one of the Oxfordshire Shaws, which looks as though it might be taken from the place of that name in Surrey, certainly is.

[4] *E.g.* 'Burslem, s. of Dr. Thomas & Katherine Wedgwood,' baptized at Burslem in 1724 (*Burslem Parish Registers*, Staffordshire Par. Reg. Soc., pt. I. p. 177).

or Hinckley and Ranworth Gray, Morley Boswell, Muckton Smith and Calton Buckland all appear to have derived their forenames from places too: and 'Marcham, son of an Egyptian' buried in January 1622 at Cottisford,[1] may be an early instance of this method of naming a child.

But one has to be very cautious with names like these, as almost all place names are used as surnames too, and may have come to the Gypsies from that source. Frampton looks like a place name, and there are plenty of places of that name to choose from. But this name was in far commoner use among Gypsies than those just mentioned, though now it is becoming rare. It is found among the Bucklands as early as 1794 when 'Frampton Son of Henry & Mary Buckland, Travailers' was baptized at Chinnor on October 29: among the Lees as early as 1819, when Josiah and Frampton, sons of 'Richard and Rhoda Lee, Stratford upon Avon, Travelling Tinkers' were baptized at Sarnesfield in Herefordshire:[2] and among the Herons and the Boswells at much the same date. One cannot help thinking that something more than the casual naming of a child after the place where it was born, was at the bottom of the popularity of this name, and I am inclined to fancy that the clue will be found in the surname of Tregonwell Frampton, the celebrated 'father of the turf' and trainer of the king's horses, who died over eighty in 1727.[3] For among Gypsies, as among gorgios, one of the commonest causes of the adoption of surnames as Christian names is hero-worship: and all Gypsies are frequenters of racecourses. I have no parallel for the adoption of a racing man's name; but Turpin occurs[4]

[1] This entry I owe to Canon Ackerley, who obtained it from the incumbent.

[2] *The Registers of Sarnesfield, co. Hereford . . . ed. by G. W. Marshall* (Par. Reg. Soc., vol. 13), London, 1898, p. 34.

[3] A less likely suggestion is that the name was taken from that of Joshua or Sias Frampton, who kept the Chequers outside Abbotsbury in the middle of the eighteenth century, since his house seems to have been frequented by Mary Squires, the celebrated Gypsy of the Canning case, and therefore probably by other Gypsies too (cf. T. B. Howell's *Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. xix. London, 1813, pp. 346, 358).

[4] C. H. Fielding, *Memories of Malling* (Malling, 1893), p. 171: 'Turpin, son of a gipsey,' from the baptismal register of Ryarsh, 1751. The surname unfortunately is not given, but perhaps one can supply it from the entry 'Ruth, Daughter of Turpin & Phebe Lee,' among the baptisms at Checkendon, near Henley, July 22, 1775. There is no note that this Turpin was a Gypsy or a traveller in the Bishop's transcript of the register, and presumably not in the register itself. But he was not christened at Checkendon, and had no other children baptized there, nor were he or his wife buried there: so they were certainly travellers, and there can be little doubt that they were Gypsies.

and pugilists are represented in plenty—Belcher and Bendigo,[1] though Abednego has something to do with this name, as Mr. Thompson has recorded it as Abendigo, among the Lees and Hearns: the Somersetshire Silverthorne among the Smiths who travelled in that neighbourhood: Sayers and Sullivan in one Smith family: Mendoza in another[2]—found as Dōza also among Grays and Shaws—Heenan in the Īnan of north country Gypsies: Mace among the Grays: and perhaps the Oliver of the Coopers and Lees, and the Humphries of the latter have a similar origin.[3] Probably Randle Smith, cousin of Jasper Petulengro, owed his name to Jack Randall, though it existed as a Christian name for centuries before that worthy's birth, and the rather mysterious Perun may come from the name of a well-known 'pet' of the Midlands, who fought and was beaten by Tom Johnson. His name was really Perrins: but Borrow, who probably knew it from oral tradition, either from his father or from his other pugilistic friends, refers to him as Perrin:[4] and Gypsies might use the same form. His case is more doubtful, however, than the others, as the name Perun is in fairly frequent use and very widespread among the Gypsies. It may therefore go back to the old diminutive of Peter, as already suggested:[5] or it may be due, as some few surnames used as Christian names are, to close intercourse or actual intermarriage with gorgios. Gypsies were in touch with gorgios who bore that surname at least as early as 1657 when John Buclle, a Gypsy—of the Buckley-Buckland family, no doubt—died in the house of Mr. Peryn at Malmesbury,[6]

[1] Bendigo Hearn is said to have been named after a racehorse, but the racehorse would have been named after the pugilist. Maidora may be similarly borrowed from the name of a racehorse, as a Medora was parent of a winner of the Oaks in 1827 (L. H. Curzon, *The Blue Ribbon of the Turf*, p. 285), and Meteora occurs earlier (*ibid.*, p. 263).

[2] 'Mendoza Son of Jonas & Constance Smith Travellers, Born in the Common-Field of Northnewton in this Parish, Dec. 3rd & baptized Dec. 6th' 1789 at Broughton, Oxon. Dōza survives among the Smiths known as 'the Dads and Mums.'

[3] This name may however have been derived from intercourse or marriage with 'John Humphries, a famous Travelling Rat-catcher,' who was buried at Ambrosden, December 11, 1770, or from Thomas Humphries, who kept the Gypsy Inn at Norwood in 1779 (Galer, *Norwood and Dulwich*, p. 17).

[4] *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxv. (1915), p. 78. Perrin was at first a coppersmith at Birmingham and afterwards a publican in Manchester (H. D. Miles, *Pugilistica*, Edinburgh, 1906, vol. i. pp. 60-63).

[5] Perin or Perine was used fairly frequently in former days as a female name too, being a female form of Peter (*Yonge*, i. 246-7).

[6] Moffat, *History of the Town of Malmesbury*, p. 71: and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 331.

and this Peryn may have been connected with travellers, as John and Mary Perrin, 'wayfaring persons,' had two daughters baptized at Cropredy in 1690 and 1694, the latter thirteen days later than a Roberts, and the Roberts family have intermarried much with the Bucklands.

Clarke, at first a name among the Boswells[1] and now among the Grays, may have come from marriage with vagrants of that name, since there have been such for at least 200 years: and Kaladain Booth's name suggests a connection with the travelling Calandines. Riley, another old name, especially common in one family of Smiths, who travelled the Midlands and Gloucestershire, as well as among the Kentish Scamps, looks like a surname too: but it is found in use among gorgios as well as Gypsies,[2] and may conceivably be a variant of the Royal or Ryall used by the Hearns, which may go back to the Saxon Riolf. Possibly it found favour with Gypsies because it resembled the Romani vocative plural of *rai*, a gentleman, which in Gloucestershire is pronounced *raile*, and is used indifferently for the singular and plural.

One of the Bucklands, born towards the end of the eighteenth century, is credited, most unusually at that date, with two Christian names—Abraham Barendon or Barenton.[3] With the second of them one may compare 'Berrington Lewis a Traveller,' buried at Woodstock in 1779, and Sir Barentine Molyns, living at Clopton in 1634,[4] who presumably derived his name from an ancestress of the Barantyne family. Possibly the name commended itself to others from its resemblance to Valentine, or even to Brendan, though the only possible survival of that name of

[1] Cf. the tombstone at Helmingham, 'In Memory of Rhona the Wife of Clarke Boswell, and Daughter of Rose Loven who died April 18th, 1810, Aged 18 Years.' (*Suffolk Chronicle*, March 5, 1920.)

[2] *E.g.* Reyley Bowden, buried at Enstone, Oxon., in 1814, aged fifty-six: Riley Bateman, baptized 1739 (Ussher, *History of Westbury*, p. 56)—apparently a gorgio, though Bateman or Pateman is found as a traveller's name. Riley Jeffs, who stole a mare in 1837 (*Oxford Journal*, March 4, 1837), may have been either a gorgio or a *posrat*, as there are half-bloods of that name. Way, *No. 747*, p. 61, appears to take Gilderoy and Riley as synonymous: but that is most improbable.

[3] His children were sometimes known as Barendons instead of Bucklands: and no doubt they are the Barringtons mentioned by Norwood (*Our Gipsies*, p. 72). For that form of the name cf. the entry which follows, and for the double name compare 'Timothy Turnit, son of Doctor [i.e. Timothy] & Mary Buckland' baptized at Great Missenden, Bucks, October 19, 1806. He was generally known as Turnup or Turnuper—Borrow's Tornapo.

[4] MS. Top. Oxon., ch. 2586 in the Bodleian Library. A. Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii., pt. iv., p. 37, mentions an instance of Barentine as a Christian name in 1588.

which I know is 'Brandyone Sansbye, horsekeeper of New College,'[1] Oxford, who made his will in 1591: and his name is very doubtful. Valentine itself in use among Gypsies, sometimes as Valley,[2] was a Gypsy surname in early days. Buck, a Christian name—if not a nickname—of one of the south country Hearns, may be compared with Buckmaster, which occurs as a Christian name at Westbury.[3] If so, it would of course not be evidence for Gypsy intermarriage, but would have been picked up by them when already a Christian name. However, I feel some doubts about this explanation, though I can offer no alternative save the still more eccentric and foreign Arthebuk, which occurs at Oxford in 1380.[4] Hyatt, a recent name among the Bucklands, occurs at Chesham in 1811 as a gorgio Christian name, and Miller, Joiner and perhaps Rice may be similar instances of surnames adopted first as Christian names by gorgios and borrowed from them by Gypsies.

Actual intermarriage is probably indicated in the name Harkless Lovell Blewitt, unless he was in the habit of using indifferently his own name and his wife's, and had them both conferred on him when tried for her murder.[5] Fred Carew Seth Boswell may have had the blood of the vagrant Carews in his veins as well as that of the Boswells. Durant, already mentioned, may be due to intermarriage: and so I fancy is Fennamore. It has run through several generations of the Kentish Lees, and is found among the Shaws. But the home of the surname Fennamore or Finnamore, is Oxfordshire, and in 1759 'John Finnamore, alias Boswell, a vagabond Fidler,' was convicted of burglary at Thame Park in that county.[6] The probability is that he was the son of a Boswell and a gorgio named Finnamore, and like many Gypsies used the names of both parents indifferently: and one

[1] J. Griffiths, *An index to the wills proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1862), p. 54.

[2] An abbreviation also used by gorgios: *e.g.* 'Thomas (illegitimate) of Valley Higgs (lacemaker),' baptized at Drayton Parslow, November 26, 1825 (W. Bradbrook, *Buckinghamshire baptisms, marriages and burials*, vol. ii. p. 157).

[3] Ussher, p. 58 (A.D. 1743). It is of course also in use as a surname there.

[4] J. E. T. Rodgers, *Oxford City Documents* (Oxford, 1891), p. 23, 'Arthebuk fflemyng Webbe et Coldheude vxore eius,' presumably Flemings by origin as well as by name.

[5] *Times*, June 25 and 28, and July 19, 1847. His name is spelled 'Harklas,' 'Harkless' and 'Hercules' in the three accounts, and his wife is called 'Mary Ann Blewitt, better known as Mary Ann Lovell.' She was murdered in a lodging-house at Dudley, when twenty-three years of age, and he was transported for twenty years.

[6] *Oxford Journal*, December 8 and 22, 1759 and March 8, 1760.

may fairly conclude that the name came into the other families by marriage with his sisters or daughters. One may perhaps find a similar survival of a surname due to intermarriage in the Fenik or Fenix of the Boswells and Smiths, as Fenwick is found in early days as a Gypsy name.[1] Naturally it is most often given in the form Phoenix, by false analogy, if Fenwick is its origin.

The Newcombe of the Hearns and Bosses may be a surname adopted as a Christian name, but it was fairly certainly borrowed from gorgios. The earliest Gypsy known to have borne it is Newcombe 'the law-giver' of the Herons: and there is little doubt that he was 'Newcome, base-born son of Phebe Smith and William Hearn, travelling Gipsies' baptized at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., March 2, 1777, about a fortnight after a gorgio child received the same name in baptism there. The curious Zemlah conferred on one of the Greens, according to her parents, was similarly borrowed from a gorgio child recently christened at the place where Zemlah Esmeralda was born. In a later generation Newcombe appears as Newton and it is probably preserved in Nūks Heron's name. The Norris (Norrit) of the Herons may perhaps be due to intermarriage, as there were travellers of that name.[2]

Tenant used by the Lockes in common with the Bucklands and the Smiths[3] seems to point to their days in Oxfordshire, where it is attested by the marriage of Tennant Prattley and Jemima Prattley at St. Peter le Bailey, Oxford, in 1798, and one Tennant Shayler occurs several times in the register of Shipton-under-Wychwood in the latter half of the eighteenth century:[4]

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 20.

[2] Cf. 'Elizabeth Norris Vagrant (said to be of Eling, Hants), Abt. 70 yers,' buried at Rotherfield Grays, Oxon., February 28, 1831, and 'Ann Norris, Beggars Lodging House, Eastrop—age, 18 years' at Highworth, Berks., November 25, 1834, a reference I owe to the kindness of the incumbent. 'Abigail Norris, a gipsy,' of some age and distinction apparently, considering the large following she had when buried at Chalfont St. Leonards, Bucks., on September 24, 1828 (R. Gibbs, *Buckinghamshire*, vol. iii. p. 151), may have been another member of this clan. But I suspect she was really Abigail, wife of Norris Hearn, cf. the entry 'Methuselah, Son of Nouris & Abigail Hearne,' baptized at Chalfont St. Giles, September 12, 1802. For the misuse of a Christian name as a surname, compare the Berkshire Lewis Boswell—ancestor of the Lewises—and Abraham Barendon Buckland and Rail Hearn already mentioned.

[3] 'Ezechiel Tennant Smith Son of a travelling Man and Woman,' baptized at North Aston, Oxon., June 3, 1798, is the earliest Gypsy instance I know.

[4] A later member of this family, William Shayler, married Unity Smith, a Gloucestershire Gypsy, at Shipton-under-Wychwood in 1847: but he is always said to have been a pure gorgio.

their Lambrock possibly to a sojourn in Cornwall, as Lambrick Mitchell is found in the register of Padstow in 1599.[1]

Other names which appear to be originally surnames are the Collingwood of the Grays, the O'Connor of the Boswells, the Dando of the South Welsh Lees and the commoner MacKenzie (Kenza); but I have no evidence that accounts for their origin as Christian names or for the surprising favour the last has found. The strange Edingale of the Grays, Smiths, and Bucklands may perhaps be taken from the ballad about the 'Luck of Edenhall.'

Nor are Puritan names, one of the classes to which I referred as unlikely to have been invented by the Gypsies, without their local significance. Bardsley points out that the Puritan district lay in Surrey, Kent, Oxfordshire, Northants, Warwickshire and parts of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and Puritan names are strongly represented among the Gypsies who have frequented those counties. Faith, Hope, Charity, Comfort, Silence, Glory, Repentance, Wisdom, Righteous (or Raito) and the strange name Reconcile are all found among Midland Smiths: Unity, Temperance[2] and Plenty among the Lockes in the days when they travelled in Gloucestershire: Providence among the Buckinghamshire Hearns and Beldams, Gad-Asher and Aphthali (=Naphthali) among Warwickshire Smiths. The Bucklands and their kindred the Roberts family affect more aggressive virtues in their Freedom, Liberty (a male name) and Defiance (a female name):[3] the Lovells more passive in their Patience and Surrender,[4] both of which they share with Smiths.

Go further south among the Ayres and Whites of the New Forest and the Christian virtues attend you all the way: Liberty greets you from the roadside, Charity and Comfort welcome you

[1] *Cornwall Parish Registers* (Phillimore's series), vol. vi. p. 75.

[2] And still earlier among the Smiths, cf. 'Rachel, d. of Abraham & Temperance Smith, travellers,' baptized at Broughton, June 30, 1717 (*The Register of Broughton*, Shropshire Par. Reg. Soc., p. 4).

[3] Defrance (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 125) must be a misprint. Affiance is found too: cf. 'Affiance D^r. of James & Eliza Smith, Wattenham, Brazier' baptized at Black Bourton, Oxon., November 8, 1835; and this form is still used by her kinsfolk, Gloucestershire Smiths. Sam Fiansi (*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 157) probably stands for Sam, son of Defiance or Affiance—cf. Dick Alabaina (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 370)—rather than for Sam Vanis. If so, it seems probable that he was a Smith, not a Heron, as Faiance is not a Heron name and Sam is very common among the Smiths who use Faiance, and very rare among the Herons.

[4] The only gorgio instance I have of this name is Surrender Lane, a pugilist (*Fistiana*, 1868, s.v.). Possibly the Gypsies adopted it from him.

to their fire. But turn north among the Herons and the north country Boswells and ne'er a virtue will you find, save now and again, when there is generally evidence that it comes from the south. Nor are the simpler names obviously of Puritan origin the only names shared by Puritans and Gypsies, for in spite of their simplicity in most things Puritans seem to have had rather a fondness for quaint names. Parallels for several curious names and forms are quoted in this article from Woodbury, Connecticut, where oddities like Semanda, Badelia, Permelia, Lamira, Saveas, Subinet abound. Even the strange Limpson in the presumably Gypsy entry 'Limpson Dr. of William & Susannah Buckland,' baptized at Eynsham, November 8, 1778, finds its nearest parallel in Lampson which occurs several times at Woodbury.[1]

It is just possible that the mysterious Sinfai may be the Puritan name Sympathy corrupted, though Cynthia seems a more likely origin, especially as Sinfaia is the full form of the name. In a copy of the register of Seend, Wilts., made by a parish clerk and quoted in the old series of this *Journal*,[2] the name Sympathy is wrongly attributed to one of the Bucklands in place of Elizabeth, which occurs in the actual register, and the mistake is so curious that one cannot help thinking the copyist must have known of a Gypsy who bore that name and confused her with the actual person whose name was entered: and there was a Sinfai Buckland at the date required. The form of the name in the entry of the marriage of 'Moses Loveridge and Simphy Smith' at Olney in 1793,[3] probably the oldest written evidence for the name, rather suggests the same derivation. Sophia, which Gypsies themselves sometimes give as a gorgio equivalent, is not very likely to be the origin of the name, as it is a comparatively recent introduction into England.[4] The unreliability of Gypsy statements as to the origin of names is shown by their equating Shandres with Andrew, when it is quite obviously Sander (Alexander) with the loan word termination often added to names or even without, as Sanders occurs as a Christian name sometimes. Gypsies used it in a more correct form in the entry of the marriage of 'Sander Smith & Angelis Gray, itinerants, sojourners in this p.'

[1] Cothren, pp. 636, 639, 648, 825.
[2] *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 122, New Series, vi. 331-2.
[3] *The Register of Olney*, p. 431, February 17, 1793.
[4] Bardsley, p. 144.

at Oakington, April 13, 1810.[1] As Saunders it occurs among the Drapers—'Sibby Draper Dr. of Saunders & Beaty Draper, Gipsies,' was baptized at Newton Longville, Bucks., on February 3, 1769—and more recently among East Anglian Smiths and Deightons. The use of Elik[2] later by the Drapers makes it fairly certain that they used both consciously as abbreviations of Alexander.

There is little to remark about the Puritan names found among Gypsies, except that some of them are absent from books on names and at present unattested by gorgio evidence: but it is so exceedingly improbable that Gypsies would have invented them of their own accord that one may safely assume their previous use by gorgios, especially as they are all found in the Puritan area. The genders are sometimes doubtful. Wisdom, mentioned as a female name by Miss Yonge,[3] whose statement is supported by Sapientia Bamfylde in the *Visitations of Devonshire*, 1564,[4] is always male among the Gypsies: and, like Righteous, was exceedingly common among the Smiths some hundred years ago, especially among those who haunted Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. In the latter county it occurs as a surname: and for many years at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, the keeper of the county gaol bore the name Solomon Wisdom. At one time and another a considerable number of the Smiths were under his or his family's care: but it is doubtful whether that influenced them in the choice of the name. The barbaric-looking Raito, which was occasionally conferred on a child in that form, as in the entry of 'Righto, Son of John Buckland, Travailer' at Chinnor, February 6, 1763—possibly the same child as 'Righto Buckley, Son of a Gipsy,' baptized at Albury, November 2, 1763—can hardly be anything but an abbreviation of Righteous, especially as it was used in the families which affected the latter name and at the date when they were fondest of using it. Memberensi is a corruption of Remembrance, which is found in America early,[5] and at

[1] *Cambridgeshire Parish Registers* (Phillimore's series), vol. iii. p. 49.

[2] With Elik, used also by the Lees and by gorgios for the commoner Alec, cf. the fuller form Elicksandes at Birmingham in 1705 (*Registers of St. Martin's*, ii. p. 168). Sandi Lovell's full name is given as Santora, which presumably is only a perversion of Sander.

[3] Yonge, i. cxli.

[4] Colby, p. 219.

[5] Cf. the *New England historical and genealogical register*, vol. ix. (Boston, 1855), p. 182, for a Remembrance Litchfield (*b.c.* 1645) in America. Bardsley, *op. cit.*,

Birmingham;[1] and—as Membrance—among Yoki Shuri's kindred. Trēnit, or Trēnet and Traienti, I take to be variants of the name Trinity, which occurred in its correct form among the Coopers in London in 1815. Hope is found as a female name: but it is more often masculine, as in Hope Sheriff's case.

To revert to the subject of surnames used as Christian names one cannot help commenting on the number of apparent surnames ending in -field which are so used by Gypsies. There are Merrifield, Manfield or Mansfield, Tinkerfield, Dangerfield, Leafield and perhaps Hayfield. But, as is often the case with names, some at least of these are not what they seem. Merrifield is a corruption of Merifil, which, as already suggested, is derived from Merowald. Leafield will be shown later to be derived by folk-etymology from Līfi, the contracted form of the name of a woman who was probably christened Delephis. Tinkerfield I know only from the entry 'Trinetta Earns illegitimate dau. of Tinkerfield Earns & Mary Smith, a gipsy' christened at Wing, December 20, 1789,[2] but it appears to have a variant Dangerfield, used by the Ayers and Lees. It looks like a corruption of Tankerville which is found as a Christian name in 1709.[3] Mansfield of course is a well-known surname, and it is given by Crabb on his list of Gypsy surnames.[4] But, as it was already in use as a Christian name in Hoyland's day,[5] and has never been recorded by any later independent researcher as a Gypsy surname, I cannot help thinking that Crabb was misled by its appearance into supposing it was a surname, not a Christian name. Undoubtedly it has been conferred on Gypsy children in this form for generations: but I fancy that like Leafield it was due originally to false analogy. The variant Manfield, which occurs in the oldest instance known to me—'Manfield Draper, p[auper]' buried at Medmenham, Bucks., Sept. 18, 1779, makes one suspect that it is derived from Manful by the same process as Merrifield from Merifil: and, when one finds Manifold in use too,

p. 203, mentions Remember as the name of a lady who went out in the *Mayflower*. As a male name it occurs at Woodbury (Cothren, p. 502).

[1] *Registers of St. Martin's*, II., pp. 162, 168, 175 (1704-6).

[2] A. V. Woodman, *The register of the parish of Wing*, pt. II. (Aylesbury, 1915), p. 234.

[3] Bardsley, p. 230.

[4] *The Gypsies' Advocate*, 3rd ed. (Lond. 1832), p. 48.

[5] *History of the Gipsies*, p. 185. It is of course possible that the children of his Mansfield Lee—or some other Mansfield—were occasionally known by their father's Christian name like the children of Abraham Barendon Buckland and Lewis Boswell. In *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 252, Mansfield is said to be a female name. But obviously there is a mistake, as Manful, brother of Caleb Heron, is the person intended.

that suspicion becomes something like certainty. Manful is the common form among the Herons and the Bucklands and their kindred the Roberts and Fletcher families, though persons who are usually so called, are occasionally called either Mansfield or Manfield, as a more formal name. One may compare the corruption of Percival as a surname into Passifull and Passfield [1] and the confusion by Gypsies of Newcombe and Newton. Manful itself would seem to be merely a variant of Manivel or Manabel, forms assumed by Emmanuel. Mantis, the abbreviation of Emmanuel affected by one Buckland family, is more mysterious and I cannot offer an explanation. Fallowfield and Hayfield are even more uncertain. Fallowfield has been given to me as the name of one Lovell or Smith, long since dead: but it may have been a nickname. Hayfield I only know from the entry 'William [corrected to Hayfield] Buckland' buried April 28, 1772, in the bishop's transcript of the Bicester parish register. As no other Bucklands occur in the register during the hundred years or so which I have examined and these -field names are common among Gypsies, it seems likely that the person referred to was a Gypsy: but the erasure suggests that it was a nickname.

The last two names seem to belong to a class of purely fancy names: and the Gypsies are often credited with a propensity for inventing and using such Christian names. Real examples of names taken from natural objects do occur among them—Narcissa Lovell, Gerania Lee, Antirrhina Ball, Begonia Gray, Lily Fuchsia Smith, Woodfine (presumably a corruption of Woodbine) Smith, for instance: and Holly, Greenleaf, Acorn, Hawthorn, Swallow, Sparrow and Tiger have all been recorded, though with less certainty that they are real Christian names. For it will generally be found that such names are only nicknames, though they may so entirely replace the actual Christian name that the latter is never used and only known to a limited circle of near relatives. For instance, I had known Oaky Buckland for years and had been told by dozens of Gypsies that she was so named from being born under an oak-tree, before I learned from her father that she was christened Mary and nothing but Mary. I have not the least doubt that she will go down to posterity as Oaky and Oaky alone: and that the legend of her being christened from an oak-tree will long outlive the remembrance of her real name. This shows that one cannot always accept the statements

[1] Weekley, *Surnames*, p. 265.

of Gypsies—even close relations—about names of this particular class. Nor are they always consistent. Two versions, for instance, are given of the origin of Yūnakrai Gray's name. One that when she was born there was a 'hue and a cry'; the other that the last words of her father, who was transported when she was an infant two days old, were an exhortation to her not to cry! In all probability Eunice was the name they conferred or intended to confer on her. One will generally be told that a Gypsy with the name Ashena or Ashela was so christened from being born under an ash-tree—I have had this explanation given to me in the case of an Ashela Hearn. But the oldest instance of this name conferred on one who I think may fairly be counted a Gypsy, is the marriage of 'Joseph Smith & Asena Cooper, both of Woodcot' at Litchfield on January 15, 1775,[1] and Assena,[2] and the biblical Asenath,[3] which is obviously the origin of the other forms, are attested among gorgios. It may of course have been the presence of an ash-tree at the time of the birth or the christening, which suggested the choice of that particular name in some cases: just as, if I am right about the origin of Sēgul, the presence of a seagull may have called to memory the old name Secole. In the latter case, one may fairly ask, if the child was named merely after the bird, why it was not called Sīgul and not Sēgul, as Gypsies do not normally use the Irish *say* for *sea*. In process of time the form which is due to folk-etymology may come to be regarded as a genuine form and be actually conferred on a child, as in the case of 'Sou'Wester, son of William and Cinamenti Gardner' christened at Stone near Dartford, Kent, January 10, 1880, 'after an uncle who was born at sea during a sou'westerly gale.'[4] The uncle is Wester Lee, who was not born at sea; and he is perfectly well aware that his full name is Sylvester not Sou'Wester. I have heard his name similarly corrupted by false analogy with Worcester into Wūster.

Yûi again is known to have been conferred as a name on one Gypsy child who was born under a yew-tree:[5] but Yûi is in use among Gypsies as an abbreviation for Uriah,[6] and I have little doubt

[1] *Hampshire Parish Registers* (Phillimore's series), vol. viii. p. 85.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. ii. p. 237.

[3] *E.g.* at Mendham in 1818 (*Suffolk Parish Registers*, Phillimore's series, vol. iii. p. 99).

[4] *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. i. (1880) p. 125. The actual form of the entry is due to the kindness of the rector.

[5] *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, vol. i. p. 15.

[6] Euri occurs as a male name among Gypsies (Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 339) and among gorgios (Uri, born in 1798 at Woodbury, Cothren, p. 707). This may

that the parents of that child had heard it used as a name in case of older Gypsies, and had assumed that it was derived from a yew tree. An excellent instance of this insidious form of corruption is furnished by the name Līfi or Leafield Smith. Her descendants all call her Līfi, and if pressed for her full name, give it as Leafield: but it is recorded at the baptism of one of her children as Dalitha, in the entry 'Queenesia [daughter of] Cornelius & Dalitha Loveridge, Stoke Lyne near Bicester, Travelling People' at Beckley, February 16, 1834: and once when she appeared in the police court it is given in one paper as Delaphy and in another as Delappy.[1] On that occasion, in 1853, she gave her age as sixty-two: but when approaching sixty, Gypsies—and gorgios—have a way of beginning the addition of a few years to their age, which increases the longer they live. As the date corresponds within three years and she seems to have belonged to a family which hung round Bicester, I have little doubt that she is the 'Delephis daughter of James & Ann Smith,' who was baptized at Finmere, February 20, 1791, and with that form of her name one may compare Delfi, the name of one of Yoki Shūri's sisters. Clearly in this case an original Delphis has become Delephis and the accent has shifted to the second syllable. Delḗfi, which is probably what is intended by the newspaper form Delaphy, has then been shortened to Lḗfi. This became Līfi by assimilation with the English word *leaf*; and then her descendants invented the false etymology Leafield, from the place of that name, familiar to them as the scene of Wychwood forest fair, abolished some thirty or forty years ago. Another variant of her name, which occurs in the entry 'Thomas Son of Cornelius & Alethea Loveridge, Stoke Lyne, Gipsey,' baptized at Middleton Stoney, February 12, 1832, may safely be rejected as a mere guess of the parson who made the entry, since it fails to account for the incipient *d* of the other form.

Solferino, an alternative for Solivaina, which is itself a variant of Silvaina given in Crofton's list of names, can hardly be any-

stand for Uriah or for Uriel, as there was a Uriel baptized at Woodbury in 1754 (*ibid.* p. 704), and this is presumably a variant of Oriel, which is found in England. Euri is also recorded as a feminine name among Gypsies. As such it is probably a variant of the Gaelic name Youregh which is also attested (Groome, *ibid.* p. 118), Gaelic Eamhair is also pronounced 'eur' apparently (*Notes and Queries*, 10th Series, vol. i. p. 235). Yoohee occurs as a male name in the case of a Scottish child baptized at Nottingham in 1797, and Urya as a female name in 1625 (Godfrey, pp. 70, 113). Ury (signing Ura) was a female name at Great Massingham in 1832 (*Norfolk Parish Registers*, Phillimore's series, vol. x. p. 176).

[1] Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 2, 1853: *Oxford Chronicle*, July 2, 1853.

thing but another case of folk-etymology. The name of that obscure town would certainly not be known to Gypsies except when the battle of Solferino in 1859 was being talked about:[1] and no doubt it was at that date that it was equated with the name Solivaino. But the latter is found in use among the Herons of the north and in a family of Midland Smiths years before that battle: and the intermediate forms preserved in two of the earliest pieces of written evidence known to me—the entries 'Salavico [a mistake for Salavino] Smith son of Moses & Lucretia Smith, Travellers,' baptized at Swalcliffe, May 5, 1795, and 'Salvino Son of Wisdom and Han. Smith (Gipsies)' among the baptisms at Moulton, Northants, June 24, 1798[2]—show that it is merely a corruption of Silvanus, and this is confirmed by the use of the female name in the form Silvaina among the Woods. Silvanus is familiar under the form Vēnus—a form in use among gorgios too—but all the evidence I have for Vēnus among Gypsies comes from the south of England, and it is possible that it is confined to south country travellers, the Gypsies of the north and north Midlands preferring Solivaino; and its abbreviations Vaino, Vaini.[3] If this is so, it would make the suggestion that the alias Vanus—given by Riley Boswell to Roberts—stands for Vēnus[4] improbable, as one would expect him to use the northern form. A still older instance of this name, the entry of the marriage of 'Salarine Hern & Marie Ingram' at Girton, September 22, 1703, suggests a confusion with Saladin.[5]

Gooseberry has been recorded too: but personally I have only heard it as a nickname of one of Dona Buckland's children, who all have nicknames after the days of the week, plus an Everyday for the 8th, and some have flower nicknames too (*e.g.* Buttercup—a man): and in one other instance, where I am not sure whether it is a name or a nickname. Flower

[1] For another battle name cf. Alma. Of commanders Wellington, Napoleon, Nelson and Blucher are represented.

[2] S. J. Madge, *The registers of Moulton*, vol. i. (Par. Reg. Soc., vol. xlvii.), p. 156. The Vino Smith, who witnessed the marriage of William Colecot and Bastey Smith, both sojourners and the woman a Gypsy, at Tadmarton, March 16, 1818, would however be older. Bastey here is for Vashti, and so probably is Wasti. But the Vesti found among the Bucklands, like the Sylvesta of the Charlottes, is probably intended for a feminine form of Sylvester.

[3] There is a similar-looking feminine name Wani or Waini, which is said to be short for Wanizūli (= Venezuela presumably).

[4] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 170.

[5] *Cambridge Parish Registers* (Phillimore's series), vol. iii. p. 59. For gorgio forms of Saladin cf. p. 17, note 5.

itself is of course only Florence, and as such is in use among gorgios too.[1]

Leland gives the name Reservi, adding, 'This extraordinary name was derived from a reservoir, by which some Gypsies were camped, and where a child was born.' That may be so: but the name was in use long before Leland's days of Gypsying, as the entry 'Rizzavy Daughter [of] John [and] Ann Smith, Wappenham, Northamptonshire, Pedlars' among the baptisms at Wigginton, September 4, 1830, shows, and again I suspect the folk-etymologist of having a hand in that explanation. The name is usually pronounced Rizavoi, Rizava, or Rizva, and, as *p*, *b*, and *v* are easily confused, it bears a suspicious resemblance to the biblical Rizpah, which is in use among gorgios. Not that I would deny that things as odd as reservoirs have been used, both by Gypsies and gorgios, in giving a name to a child. Cometina, for instance, named after a comet, may be found in a peerage: and the Gypsy child 'Regester, Daughter of Charlotte Bagley and John Smith,' baptized at Hornton August 18, 1811, was presumably named after the book in which her baptismal entry was made. Sitron, given me as the name of one of Api Boswell's relatives, may be a similar oddity: but compare the marriage of 'Samuel Smith & Catron [Catherine] Smith' at Rotherham,[2] in Api's country, July 19, 1802. This suggests that Sitron is merely a further corruption of Catherine, assimilated to the word 'citron' by false analogy. With the *i* in the first syllable one may compare the familiar abbreviation Kitty.

Sugar may be a survival of an Anglo-Saxon name, as when used as a surname it is said to be derived from Sægær:[3] but the Gypsy name is generally given as Shugarn or Shugaren. Evergreen is recorded among the Herons and among the Plums (or Booths). In the latter family Everet also occurs, and Evergreen may be a variant of this name.

Sometimes one can catch a glimpse of this form of corruption in the making. I was once asking Francis Buckland if he remembered anything of an old Isaiah Buckland, of whom I had heard

[1] Cf. Borrow's *Lavo-Lil*, *s.v.* Floure, and the *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 244. Is Crofton's Horentia an odd form of Florentia (for which cf. Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 348), or of Eurentia, which is found at Nottingham in 1722 (Godfrey, p. 111)?

[2] *Yorkshire Marriage Registers* (Phillimore's series), vol. ii., pt. II. (London, 1915), p. 319.

[3] Weekley, *Romance*, p. 12.

vaguely: and Francis, who loves to mouth a name until he has reduced it to a form he fancies, began repeating to himself 'Zaia-Dezaia' over and over again, until his wife broke in with an impatient 'You 're mazed, man. Isaiah was what de man said.' Quite undisturbed, Francis continued his litany of 'Zaia-Dezaia,' until some recollection of the person I was inquiring after came to him: and had I not known that he was commonly called Isaiah, I should certainly have derived the impression that Dezaia was the full form of his name. I should have been deceived too when I heard Zemlah Esmeralda Green addressed by her cousin Bellamarinia Loveridge (*née* Buckland) as 'my Daizemblah,' if I had not the positive assurance of both her parents that Zemlah Esmeralda and nothing else was the name by which they had her christened. Bella, whose fancy is so prolific that she seldom addresses the same person twice by the same name, had, I suspect, merely added the Dai- because she has an aunt Zuba or Daizuba, and Zuba bears a casual resemblance to Zemlah. A similar instance of false analogy is Dolferus for Adolphus, formed on the analogy of Diverus from Dives. The latter itself is due to false analogy with Lazarus.[1] Curiously the Dai- in Bella's aunt's name may be a similar addition, as Zuba can hardly be anything but the biblical Azubah: indeed, both forms occur at Woodbury.[2] Zuba again bears a casual resemblance to Zaira, and Zaira is an abbreviation of Dezaira, with which one may compare the gorgio Desire, Desiah, Desier. Presumably the latter is a pseudo-puritan name: but, though found in America, it seems to come mainly from East Anglia,[3] and there I find a mysterious name Dimaria also in use among gorgios. Is this a 'portmanteau' formation from Damaris or Dinah and Maria, or is there a prefix De-, Di-, Dai- in use for feminine names? And, if so, what is its origin and meaning? One might find it again in Deloreni by the side of Lurina; and, if it exists, I can only suppose that it originated in a confusion of the form Dihannah—a form of Diana found in parish registers—with Hannah, and a quaint assumption that Di- was a prefix to be applied when one pleased. But this is not very likely. The 'portmanteau' origin of Dimaria seems the more probable: and

[1] Cf. the well-known ballad about Lazarus and Diverus.

[2] Cothren, pp. 576, 625. Sūbi is a different name, and only a corruption of Sophia: cf. 'Supia Dater of moses & mary parsons' and 'w^{m} son of W^{m} & supiah alldridge' (E. A. Ebblewhite, *The Parish Registers of Great Hampden*, pp. 60-1).

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. vii. p. 376. Cf. also Dezerese, a female name in 1599 at Wantage (*Berkshire Parish Registers*, Phillimore's series, vol. i. p. 17).

one might compare another gorgio name Phebeata, which I can only solve as Phebe and Beata, unless it is intended as a diminutive in -etta.[1]

The two instances I have of that name date from 1738 and 1745, about the time that double names began tentatively to be used. At first they are often written in registers as one, the writer of the entry evidently regarding it as an absurdity for one person to have more than one Christian name. To this early habit of treating a double name as a single one we owe such Gypsy names as the portentous Henrimaretta, Līanamelēda, Lettieaceneter, Delizanna, and Bellamarīnia. Naturally one of the commonest combinations was that of Mary (Maria) and Anne (Anna), with its diminutive Annette (Annetta), sometimes in the order Maria Anne, which gave rise to confusion both with Marian, an old diminutive of Mary, and with the biblical Mariamne. From the reverse order one gets the simple Annamaria and its diminutive Annamaritta,[2] whence the Gypsy Henrimaretta, by confusion with Henrietta. Gorgios would seem to have carried the corruption still further in Hannahritta and Emmaritta[3]—the Amereta of the Derby Boswells, who equate it with Annie Maria! Līanamelēda is presumably Leanabel and Ada: Lettieaceneter looks like Leticia Annetta with metathesis of the *c*, and Delizanna like Delicia Anna. Bellamarīnia is more mysterious. The Bella part may come from Annabella[4] or Arabella: with the -marīnia one may compare the Gypsy Marīna which is found among Northamptonshire Smiths, and Mairenni. Marinus occurs as a male

[1] Deddington parish register, 1738: and Wooton 1745 (Phœbeetta). The latter form rather suggests that the person who made the entry regarded it as a diminutive of Phœbe. If so, cf. Emilyetta (*Oxford Journal*, Jan. 31, 1863) and Thankfulletta (*New England hist. and gen. register*, vol. lxxvi. p. 171) for similar recklessly formed diminutives.

[2] A. J. Jewers, *The registers of the Abbey church of SS. Peter & Paul*, Bath, p. 101. Annamaritta may perhaps appear in a depraved form in the presumably Gypsy entry 'Louisa Dr. of Nathan[l] & Ambritta Smith' among the baptisms at Chicheley, July 6, 1802, unless this is a form of Amalrith. Heneriter for Henrietta occurs at Putney (*The parish register of Putney*, vol. ii. p. 203). The Gypsy Henetta is probably Annetta mispronounced or confused with Henrietta.

[3] A. R. Bax, *Surrey allegations*, pp. 308 (1753) and 548 (1765).

[4] Cf. perhaps the Anna Perrella of the entry 'Sophia D[tr] of Righteous & Anna Perrella Draper' among the baptisms at Bix, Oxon., July 14, 1776, which looks like an expansion of Annabella, unless the last part is Parnell. Prunella occurs in the same register, Feb. 22, 1847, 'Mary d. of Samuel [and] Prunella Archer, Minigrove, Page's Bottom, Traveller' baptized. This again looks like Parnell corrupted, but it might be taken from a racehorse, as there was one named Prunella (Curzon, *op. cit.*, p. 260).

name as early as 1185 A.D.:[1] and at that date feminines were formed from most male names. At Putney is found Marrenor Smith:[2] at Worksop the name Marina occurs in 1715,[3] and at Olney several times in the eighteenth century.[4] One of these gorgio instances from Olney is interesting as it shows the confusion which resulted from the use of such rare names. 'James Whitney and Ann Putnam' were married October 13, 1760: but at the christening of his first child the name of James's wife appears as Merena, in a second baptismal entry as Mariamna, in a third as Merena again, in a fourth and in her own burial entry as Marina! Unfortunately she was not baptized at Olney. What was her name? Mary Ann or Marina? Anyhow the entries show that the two names could be confused. Trēzian, a name recorded by Mr. Wellstood among Warwickshire Smiths, is probably Trēzi (=Theresa) combined with Ann. But it was an unfortunate choice of names, as it led to the woman being recorded in at least one instance as 'Crazy Ann.'[5]

Olney was rather a centre for the Loveridges and Smiths in the eighteenth century, and a Buckland was married there at the beginning of the nineteenth: so it may well have been there that the Smiths and Bella's parents picked up their Marīna and Marīnia. At Olney, too, another strange compound occurs—Elishamaria, and with it the shorter Lisha and Elishua, the two last used of the same person. Both persons seem to be gorgios, and their names would not be relevant were it not that Vantino Smith, already mentioned, who would pretty certainly be akin to the Smiths who frequented Olney, had a child whose name is recorded as 'Elisha, Daughter of Vanty & Elizabeth Smith, Vagrant,' in the Launton register, May 22, 1825. On April 10 occurs the entry, 'Eliza Daughter of Elizabeth Smith, Vagrant,' which may well refer to the same child, though there is no note that one was privately, the other publicly baptized as usual. If so, Eliza is probably only the parson's attempt at solving the curious Elisha. Is this Elisha,

[1] Searle, *s.v.* and *The great roll of the Pipe, 1185-6*, London 1914 (Pipe Roll Soc., 36), p. 194.

[2] *The parish register of Putney*, vol. iii. p. 553.

[3] G. W. Marshall, *Miscellanea Marescalliana*, vol. i. p. 41.

[4] *The register of Olney*, pp. 334-5, 342, 349, 359-60, 363, 375. W. Meyer-Lübcke, 'Romanische Namen-Studien' (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Wiener Akademie, Bd. 184, Abt. 4, p. 48) points out that Marina is really derived from the Etruscan Mare, not from Marinus: but probably it was generally regarded as the feminine of the latter.

[5] 'Jerusalem Son of Joseph & Crazy Ann Smith, Travilling Sojourner, Gipsies,' was baptized at Bloxham, Feb. 14, 1836.

Elishua, the biblical name Elisha misused? Or more probably Alicia mispronounced, as the Gypsy Lisha has a short *i*, and only assimilated to Elisha in spelling through false analogy? I have noticed Ellis as a female Christian name as well as Arlis, and both I take to be mere phonetic spellings of a mispronounced Alice. So far there is little doubt. But Vantino's sister Saibirēni and her husband Robert Bagley also had a daughter Lisha, and when pressed for the full form of her name her nephew Gustun Smith gives it as Milisha. Yet it seems probable that this Lisha would have the same name as her cousin Lisha: and again I suspect false analogy has crept in. There is the like-sounding English word 'militia' to confuse it with: and there is also the name Melitta or Melissa, attested among Gypsies in the first form, among gorgios in both. One or the other is probably responsible for the corruption.

To a similar misunderstanding of a contracted name I would refer the double origin assigned to Mōti, with its variants Mōchus, Mōcha, Mōchan. The Bucklands expand this to Timōtius (=Timotheus). But the Herons, and Charles (*alias* Mōti) Lovell, of North Wales, who derived his explanation, and probably his name too, from Mōti Heron, explain it as Moses. Here the Herons would seem to have borrowed a name and misused it, since the two chief forms, Mōti and Mōchus, are both easily obtained from Timōtius, but only remotely resemble Moses. The probable reason for their mistake is that Timothy does not appear to have been in use among the Herons as a name, while Moses is common. The reverse is the case with the Bucklands.

The two entries in the Burslem parish registers,[1] 'Hugh, s. of Moses & Ruth Williams, Travellers,' baptized February 3, 1722, and 'Elizabeth, d. of Matthew and Ruth Williams, Travellers,' baptized September 27, 1724, suggest a confusion between Mōti for Moses and Mati for Matthew, if, as seems probable, they record the baptism of two children of the same couple. Matt and Matty were also pet names for Martha, and this usage accounts for the appearance of Matthew as a female name, already noted in the instance 'Matthew Smith a Gypsey woman, the mother of Gypsey Will.' She may have been christened Martha correctly, as the same person occurs at Wordwell in 1771 as Matthew, and in 1772 as Martha.[2] But the confusion was so great that Matthew usurped

[1] *Burslem parish register* (Staffordshire Par. Reg. Soc.), pt. I. pp. 171, 177.

[2] *West Stow . . . [and] Wordwell parish registers.* (Woodbridge, 1903), p. 94.

the place of the earlier Matty at baptism, as in the case of 'Mathewe Williams, d. of a walking man' at Little Wittenham in 1630. An apparent instance of a male name used for a woman occurs in the entry 'Litha, Daughter of William and Henry Buckly (Vagrants),' baptized at Little Brickhill January 13, 1789. But no doubt Henrietta is intended. Faiance is attested as a male name among Gypsies as well as a female. The intermediate form Fainace shows that the male name is Vēnus (Silvanus).[1] Julia too occurs in one case—Julia Macfarlane—as a man's name, when it may be a corruption either of Julian or of Julius. Confusion of two portentous biblical names—Nebuchadnezzar and Nicodemus—no doubt accounts for the form Nebuchadnēmus, which has been recorded from the Prices. Nicodemus itself may appear as a female name in the case of Nicodie (Kōdi) Jones, who died recently in Cheshire.

Though there does not seem to be any phonetic confusion about it, one may note that Rodney, the name of the celebrated Gypsy evangelist, is a female name in the entry, 'Smith, William, *s.* Thomas and Rodney Smith born July 28th,' christened October 1, 1788, at Horncastle.[2] Simple analogy with the English word accounts for the abbreviation Fāden for Ferdinando. The course of the corruption is illustrated by the series of forms 'Furthenando, ffarthanunda, ffarthinganda, ffarthanda, farthen,' all used for the same person at St. Martin's, Birmingham,[3] and Farthingando is found in Oxford too as early as 1681.[4] Fērneti is probably derived from Finetta, a rare name which is found, however, as early as 1600 in England,[5] by a similar assimilation of the first syllable to the word 'fair.' Possibly the existence of the name or nickname 'Fairmaid' among the Smiths[6] may have assisted the corruption. I had always supposed that Fairmaid was a nickname: but

Cf. also Bardsley, pp. 95, 110. C. T. Martin, *Record interpreter*, 2nd ed., p. 461, mentions a female name Mathue, for which he can find no Latin equivalent.

[1] *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, N.S., vol. iv., pt. i. (1895), pp. 15, 20.

[2] J. C. Hudson, *The fourth register book of the parish church of Saint Mary, Horncastle* (Horncastle, 1908), p. 60.

[3] *Registers of St. Martin's*, ii. pp. 125, 136, 145, 153, 318.

[4] 'Farthingando s. Farthingando [Smith] & Damiesand his wife,' bapt. Sept. 11, 1681, at St. Mary Magdalen.

[5] W. Berry, *Pedigrees of the families . . . of Kent* (London, 1830), p. 449.

[6] Attributed to a daughter of 'Jimmy the Gypsy King' (T. F. Tyerman, *Notices of the life of John Pratt*, Oxford, 1861, p. 21)—probably the James Smith buried at Launton in 1830. It may be the same Gypsy who was known in her old age, when she was accounted a witch and frequented Marsh Gibbon, as 'old Pretty Maid' (*Folklore*, vol. 13, p. 291). But she would be more probably a sister than a daughter of James, as she is recorded as 'Prettymaid Smith, a Gipsy woman, years 85,' when she was buried at Stewkeley, Bucks., Nov. 19, 1833.

Hardmaid was actually conferred at baptism on the daughter of one of the Boswells.[1] Perhaps, however, this is a corruption for the Puritan name Handmaid. On the other hand, it is improbable that the place-name Selby had any influence on the form of Selbi Ayers' name. It is a simple mispronunciation of Silvia, and as such is found among gorgios far from Selby.[2]

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS

I

La Formation de la Langue Marathe. By JULES BLOCH. Paris: Champion, 1920.

THIS analysis of the development of Marathi marks an important step forward in the unravelling of the history of the Indo-Aryan languages. Since the days of Hoernle and John Beames considerable progress has been made in the systematic study of various forms of Prakrit, *i.e.* the middle Indian dialects, which indicate the linguistic development between the ancient period, when people spoke a language similar in type to that of Vedic literature, and the modern period of Marathi, Bengali, Hindi, etc. In that progress the Prakrit Grammar of Pischel is an important milestone, though by no means a final authority. It is mainly concerned with the stereotyped Prakrits of literature, but has formed a useful focus for the study of older and of younger forms of Prakrit. Again, in the study of the modern languages, the classification of dialects and the general outlines of their phonology, the Linguistic Survey of India and all the other work done by Sir George Grierson start the inquirer on a new level. In the meantime also the science of Linguistic has advanced, becoming not merely more exact, but also more human and less algebraic. This recent development is nowhere more apparent than in the school at Paris dominated by the genius of M. Meillet, of which M. Jules Bloch is a distinguished disciple.

The next step inaugurated by this volume is the focussing of all this knowledge on the analysis of a single language; not

[1] 'Hardmaid Daughter of Lawrence Boswell & Carnation his wife,' bapt. at Adderbury, Oxon., Jan. 31, 1787.

[2] *E.g.* Selby Mason, buried at Woolwich in 1705 (*Hasted's History of Kent*, ed. by H. H. Drake, London, 1886), pt. I. p. 171.

merely noting points of agreement with, and of difference from, other Indian languages—but bringing these into relation with older dialects, determining what is normal in the language under dissection, what is probably due to contact with other languages, and approximately the dates of various changes that have made their appearance in the history of the language. This work M. Bloch has done for Marathi. His book, in which industry and knowledge are controlled by rigorous method and penetrating insight, should prove a useful model for parallel studies of other Indian languages. Such studies, supporting or correcting each other, will strengthen the framework of what one might call the continuous narrative of Indian linguistic history.

For the student of Romani philology this work of M. Bloch has a two-fold importance. It is recognised that any solution of the old problems of the original Gypsy home and of the relationships of a Gypsy race, so far as this rests on language, is bound up with Indian linguistic history. Of any Romani sound or form, we want to know, from what part of India, and at what period, could that be derived. Marathi itself, indeed, does not come specially into the question, but the light thrown on the general history of Indian languages by this comparative study of Marathi is important. Over and above this there is the fact that the author has brought Romani into line with other Indian languages to an extent and with a method that was still impossible for Beames on one side or for Miklosich and Fick on the other. Of course the treatment of Romani is incidental to his main purpose, and is neither exhaustive nor specialised. Nevertheless, if one will collect what he says about Romani it will cover most of the essential points. Many of the individual equations are already familiar, but instead of being isolated we find them here fitting into their place on the chart. The net result may perhaps be stated thus: again and again agreement with the languages of North-West India points to a derivation from a North-West Prakrit; but this derivation need not be confined to a limited area in the Hindu Kush, for the Dardic languages shade off into Lahndā, Panjabi, and Western Pahari.

Some of us may be tempted to find his phonology too rigid at times, but he may prove to be right. For example, the oblique ending in Romani *-es* (fem. *-a*) he will allow to be probably genitive, but to the Hindi *-e*, Apabhramsa *-aha*, he will not allow the same derivation. The survival of the old *-s* in the oblique

pronominal forms of Hindi *kis* (*kis-ka* = 'whose'), *tis*, cf. Prakrit *kissa*, forbids, he says, the admission of its disappearance in other cases (p. 182). But *kis* is a monosyllable and emphatic; it is hardly sufficient to bar the admission of intervocal *s* becoming *h* in a weak ending. That admission would simplify the explanation of the 2nd pers. sing. Apabhramsa *ahi* (p. 234) as from *asi*, and of the 'teens': Hindi *bārah* = 12 as against *bīs* = 20 (p. 219).

Can we not persuade M. Bloch to make a special study of Romani? If he would undertake the work he could give us an analysis that would rank as a classic. One point however should be kept in mind, for what it is worth, in any such treatise—Gypsies are neither villagers nor townsmen, nor merely nomadic hunters or herdsmen, but normally parasitic and bilingual wanderers. If a villager is possessed of a fat chicken, you may presume it is his—with a Gypsy it is not so. As with chickens, as with stories and costume, so with words and even grammar—the Gypsy is eclectic. A. C. WOOLNER.

II

Scottish Lairds and Gypsies. By DAVID MACRITCHIE. (*The Glasgow Herald*, March 25, 1922.)

In this article Mr. MacRitchie brings fresh evidence to bear on the case of John, son of Ninian Stewart 'of Stokwall in Glasgow,' who, as readers of his *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts* will remember, was arrested in 1637 with James, son of Moysie Faa, for being an Egyptian and keeping company with such people for nine or ten years. He shows that Stewart's claim to belong to a family living in Glasgow is supported by the sale of a house in Stockwell, then the 'west end' of Glasgow, in 1685 to John Grahame by Robert Stewart, 'portioner, of Newtoune.' He might have added that both Ninian himself and his wife Sibilla (*née* Uddart), when they made their wills in 1634 and 1620 respectively, described themselves as of Nether Newtoun, Glasgow.[1] Though there is no direct evidence in this to prove that Ninian's ancestors were also settled at Stockwell, nobody is likely to question seriously Mr. MacRitchie's conclusion that John Stewart was the son of a 'man of good position' and a gorgio, especially as no earlier travellers of that name are known and the maiden name of his mother does

[1] F. J. Grant, *The Commissariat Record of Glasgow* (Scottish Record Society, pt. xiii.), Edinburgh, 1901, p. 481.

not suggest Gypsy blood. Yet he was convicted of being a Gypsy and admitted that he had been one for nine or ten years. As his parents were married in 1608,[1] he must have adopted Gypsy life when a youth of not more than eighteen or nineteen: and, if one may hazard a conjecture, it seems probable that the cause for his doing so was the usual reason for most male lapses from grace, that a woman—most likely one of Moysie Faa's daughters—tempted him. If so, and if, as is probable, he was the founder of the tribe of Gypsy Stewarts, his case is interesting as showing the origin of one of the Gypsy clans with an aristocratic gorgio name.

In explanation of how Stewart and his associates evaded the numerous acts that had been passed against Gypsies, Mr. MacRitchie gives a list of some half a dozen Scottish gentry who are known to have 'resetted' and assisted Gypsies between 1613 and 1620, besides the two Lindsays who in 1609 went bail for Moysie Faa in £1000, which must be multiplied by something like ten to reach its modern equivalent. What seems to require more explanation is why those gentry were so self-sacrificing. It is all very well calling them 'gypsophil.'[2] I hope, in spite of the objectionableness of the word, all members of the Society are that: but I should imagine few of them would be rash enough to go bail that a Gypsy would not behave as a Gypsy to the tune of £1000, even if they were pounds Scots.

The preceding column in the same paper contains a plea for the open road taken in more leisurely fashion than most people take it in these days. It is signed W. H. S. and concludes with some anecdotes about a Tinkler King and Queen.

III

Zigeuner-Arabisch: Wortschatz und Grammatik der arabischen Bestandteile in den morgenländischen Zigeunersprachen. Von Dr. ENNO LITTMANN. Kurt Schroeder, Bonn-Leipzig, 1920.

In this brochure of 147 pages Dr. Enno Littmann, the well-known professor of Oriental Languages in Bonn University,

[1] H. Paton, *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh* (Scottish Record Society, pt. xxxiv.), Edinburgh, 1905, p. 662, 'Ninian Stewart; Sibilla Uddart, 3 Mar. 1608.'

[2] May one protest against this and similar formations on the score both of their ugliness and of their unclearness? A 'gypsophil' would most naturally mean a person or thing fond of gypsum.

analyses the colloquial Arabic spoken by the Gypsy nomads in the near East. He founds his study on a number of larger or smaller compilations of words, sentences, and texts that have appeared from time to time during the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. The book is perhaps more valuable to Oriental philologists than to students of the Romani dialects: in fact, the Romani element in the speech of the people with whom he is concerned is intentionally ignored altogether, as being outside the special purpose of the work.

A valuable introduction of 45 pages analyses a considerable vocabulary of Arabic slang and secret words, not however specially associated with the Nawar or other Gypsy tribes, and therefore only indirectly of interest to the readers of this journal; and enumerates—what is more to the present purpose—the names which the Romani tribes bear among the people of the nearer East. Such names as Nawar (singular Nuri), Ġagar, Čingana, Zuṭṭ, Dōm, are analysed with care and skill: if permission could be obtained, a translation of this section would be a valuable contribution to the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, as Dr. Littmann's book is not very easily accessible in this country.

After the introduction, and filling the greater part of the work, is a vocabulary of Arabic words, with their Gypsy variants. This vocabulary is naturally not exhaustive, for the Syrian Nawar adopt Arabic words to an almost unlimited extent, to eke out the scanty resources of their own language. But it is sufficient to indicate how they treat the words which they borrow.

Finally come (1) an outline grammar of 'Nurified' Arabic, and (2) perhaps the most interesting of all the sections, a chapter on the influence exerted by Arabic on the use of Nuri words; that is to say, the extensions or other modifications of sense which they have undergone by analogy with corresponding words in Arabic. These two sections are valuable contributions to the study of mixed languages.

May I add a personal note of thanks to Dr. Littmann for his kind appreciation of my own attempt at making out something of the language of the Nawar, and for his valuable and always courteous corrections?

R. A. S. Macalister.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—Nomad Camp. From Pushkin, *The Gypsies* (1837)

The Gypsies (Tsygany) in a noisy crowd are wandering over Bessarabia. To-day they camp for the night above the river in their tattered tents. Among the wheels of the telegas, half-overhung with rugs, burns the fire; the family, all about, prepare the supper; in the open plain feed the horses, behind the tent lies the led bear at liberty. The steppes are all alive: the peaceful labours of the families, ready at dawn for the brief journey, the songs of the women, and the shout of the children, and the din of the travelling anvil. But see, on the nomad camp descends a sleepy silence, and in the quiet of the steppe are heard only the bark of dogs and the neigh of horses. The fires everywhere are quenched, all is at rest, the moon shines solitary from the height of heaven and illumes the tranquil camp. In one tent is an old man, and he is not asleep; he sits over the coals, warmed by their dying heat, and looks on the distant plain covered by the vapour of the night. . . .

Next Morning

. . . And the folk have poured out noisily; the tents are struck; the telegas, all ready, are on the move for the march; all have started off together; and now in the empty plains the crowd is thronging. The asses, in their panniers astride, carry the children at play; husbands and brothers, wives, girls, and young and old, follow afoot. Cries, shouts, accompaniments of Gypsy song; the roar of the bear, the impatient clatter of his chains; the motley of bright rags; the nakedness of old men and children; the barking and howling of dogs; the drone of the bagpipes, the creak of the telegas—it is all hunger-bitten and wild, all disorderly, but it is all so restless and alive—just as foreign to our dead luxurious ways, as foreign to this idle life of ours, as the monotonous song of serfs. O. Elton.

2.—Hokhano Baro in Wales

In R. Fenton's *Tours in Wales* will be found the following curious tale told him when visiting Llanfynydd, Carmarthenshire, in 1809[1]:—

'Return by a large Stone deeply bedded in the Earth, concerning which there is a tradition that the great-grandfather of the present Curate of Llanfynydd, a great Miser and Usurer, had lent the sum of £300 to some Gypsies, tempted to do so by the offer of extravagant Interest for the loan—at least 3 fold—but that the money would be left under that Stone; but that he must not impatiently attempt to look for it, till he should know from them that they were returned to Egypt. But he, not attending to such conditions, went to look for his money before the appointed time, but that it came to thunder and lighten, so that he could not prosecute his Enquiry; and it was believed and reported that in many subsequent attempts people had met with the same obstruction. However, there is a recent appearance of digging about it, and I was told by my guide that he was one of the actors, but that after great toil, they found, the more they dug on one side, where the Heel of the Stone was deeply bedded in the Earth, the more it sunk, and so it was left; whereas, by means of a little powder, the whole might have been blasted in an hour's time.'

No wonder the Wood family settled in Wales, if all its misers were as credulous in their early days there: for to that period the tale must belong, if three generations had elapsed in 1809. Is anything still known of this stone and the tradition? Or have Fenton's violent measures been resorted to, and blown stone, treasure, and tradition to the four winds?

[1] *Tours in Wales* (1804-1813) . . . Edited by J. Fisher (London, 1917, Cambrian Archæological Association), pp. 55-6.

3.—Foreign Travellers and English Gypsies

Peter Kalm, a Swede, who visited England on his way to America in 1748, and again on his return journey in 1751, mentions meeting Gypsies on April 15, 1748, when on his way from Little Gaddesden to Colney *via* St. Albans: '**Tattare**, *Gypsies*—We encountered to-day at several places large troops of the wandering gypsies, with a number of their wives and children, and wondered highly that this useless folk could be tolerated in this country.' A little later he observes: 'The gypsies, **Tattare**, who roam about this country, use only donkeys instead of horses to carry their children and baggage.'[1]

Some thirty years later—on June 2, 1782, to be exact—Pastor Moritz 'passed a wood where a troop of gypsies had taken up their abode, around a fire, under a tree,' somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dartford.[2] Though Moritz, unlike Kalm, does not pass any adverse criticism on them, he too was only a casual observer of Gypsies. But the banished Frenchman, Alphonse Esquiros, who spent some time in England about the middle of the fifties of the last century, may be counted a *Romani rai*—a thing so unusual in one of his countrymen, that one cannot help suspecting that the Spanish blood, which his name indicates, was stronger in him than the French. He devotes no less than three chapters of his book on England[3] to the Gypsies, and they are well worth the perusal of any one who can get a sight of them. For the benefit of those who cannot a few of the main points may be summarised. His knowledge was derived partly from books. He knew of Grellmann, Richardson, Hoyland, Crabb, and Borrow, and of some writer on Scottish Gypsies. But much of it came from personal experience. He visited Gypsies wherever he went in England and Scotland, travelled some miles with a party of Lees in Epping Forest, and spent several days with some Stanleys near Christchurch. This encampment consisted of half a dozen tents with about thirty inhabitants, including two old men and one blind old lady, said to be at least 100 years of age. Another elderly woman said her mother came direct from Egypt, and complained that the Gypsies were no longer united and had adopted English ways. The men were tall and well-proportioned; the women had low foreheads and pendant hair. The chief—aged about 40—wore a silver buckle on his hat, and one of the women had a gold ring with half a sovereign on it: but it was a present from a *gâjo*. The men were chiefly tinkers; but he was aware that other Gypsies practised the mending of chairs, the sharpening of knives, and the making of baskets. The Stanleys used a light cart when travelling, while the old lady rode on a donkey, and they had tents with 'round or pointed roofs' for living in. It was among them that he noted 'kettles hanging from a species of hook under poles fixed in the ground,' a description which unfortunately leaves it a little uncertain whether he meant a wooden tripod or the two perpendicular poles with a cross pole at the top, which are also found among New Forest Gypsies.[4] The first evening he was regaled with a hedgehog, and a chicken which was produced from one of the tents after he had paid for it, and he describes the cooking of it. The turf was taken up and a hole dug and filled with small wood. The fowl's entrails were removed and it was rolled in a paste of clay and laid on the sticks, and pieces of grass placed over all for a lid. Perhaps the underground cooking was resorted to because the fowl had been stolen.[5] The farmer invaded the camp to look for it

[1] *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England* . . . Translated by J. Lucas (London, 1892), pp. 154, 161.

[2] C. P. Moritz, *Travels* . . . *through* . . . *England in* 1782. . . . Translated from the German. . . . (London, 1795), p. 6.

[3] A. Esquiros, *The English at Home*. Translated . . . by L. Wraxall. Vol. i. (1861), chaps. viii. to x., pp. 142-221.

[4] Cf. F. Cuttriss, *Romany Life* (London, 1915), p. 6.

[5] Cf. the hole used as a hiding-place for goods which required one by the

while the cooking was going on, and walked two or three times 'over' the place where it was cooking without seeing it. One wonders what would have happened if he had put his foot on the exact hole; and anyhow he would seem to have been rather blind not to have seen the smoke. Perhaps, however, Esquiros has omitted a detail, and they lit a fire over the hole as well as in it.

He accompanied these Gypsies to some races near Southampton, having pointed out to him on the way a piece of ground owned by a rich Gypsy, where some other Stanleys were putting up a tent, and sods of grass used as a sign by others who had passed on in front. At the races were several bands of Stanleys, and the heroine of the hour was a young woman 'with a bold and enterprising face and masculine form' who was mounted on a black horse and had a round hat on her head, a silver-mounted whip in her hand, and a handsome riding dress; for she had recently played the *hokhano baro* on two old maids in one of the midland counties. But her triumph did not last long, as she was arrested soon afterwards. Was this the dark lady of Borrow's *Lavo-Lil*[1]? Certainly it would seem to be the woman mentioned by Morwood,[2] as she too fled to Hants and Dorset. But she was not alone of her kind. Crabb had known a similar flaunting queen, already growing old twenty years before Esquiros wrote.[3]

The Stanleys were selling donkeys at the races; and, when they were over, they started for Lymington, and invited Esquiros to be present at the wedding of one of the girls aged 17 with her cousin aged 20 in six months' time. They seem to have informed him that engagements lasted always two years,[4] and that weddings were the occasion of three days' festivity, though they were sufficiently gorgified to marry in church. He does not appear to have availed himself of this invitation, but at their suggestion he did go to see the funeral of one of their 'sisters' at Woodford in Essex a few days later. The woman buried was one of the Lees, aged 103, who had for some years been supported by the charity of some ladies of Woodford, but had died in West Ham workhouse. After her death the relatives had removed the body to a tent in the forest and buried it at their own expense. Seventeen Gypsies followed the hearse, and hundreds of people attended the funeral.

It was presumably there that he learned that some families of Gypsies visit the graves of their dead once a year, generally towards Christmas, and that they always burn the clothes and the straw of the bed of the dead, but keep the rugs, snuff-box, silver spoons, and horse or donkey, and never part with them; or if they must they pledge them to another Gypsy and redeem the pledge.

At Wells in Norfolk he saw a Gypsy girl of 15 or 16 who was married to a Gypsy chief. Her name was Zizilla, which looks like a strange reduplication of the biblical Zillah, unless it is Cicely or Maizeli corrupted, or misheard; and she was a perfect type of a Gypsy. A perfect fool too, one infers, since she called her husband 'the great ruler of the night.' She was living in a cottage for the winter, and told fortunes and danced in the street. Her husband travelled with his band, and came to see her every now and then. Gypsy-like, she only occupied one room

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Gypsies who adopted Steggall (J. H. Steggall, *Real History of a Suffolk Man*, London, 1857, p. 30).

[1] London, 1907, p. 214.

[2] *Our Gipsies* (London, 1885), pp. 188-9.

[3] *The Gipsies' Advocate* (London, 1831), p. 38.

[4] Is this a survival of the two years' probation which among German Gypsies is exacted from a son-in-law after marriage? During that period he belongs to his wife's family, travels with his father-in-law, and has to obey his order and contribute to the common fund (Liebich, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 46). And is that again a partial survival of the older matriarchal rule preserved by some Gypsies (Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 61, and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 261), by which the husband belongs entirely to his wife's clan?

in the cottage, though it contained three; and later she deserted the house altogether. When a *gâjo* girl with whom she was very friendly was taken ill, Zizilla indulged in an incantation over her, placing one hand on the sick girl's breast and raising the other to heaven. Presumably he witnessed this performance; but he mentions from hearsay or reading another case of 'magic' which had occurred a few years ago, in which two married women obtained love philtres and enchantments from a Gypsy to attract a man and poisoned their husbands. Was this the crime for which a relative of Selina Smith, who supplied one Mrs. King, who had the same amiable intentions, with a philtre, was still wanted in 1862?[1]

Another Gypsy acquaintance of his in England was an old woman living at Gravesend who told fortunes in the Rosherville Gardens during the summer; and he knew some of the Lovells who frequented Wapping and visited a tent on North Woolwich common, where he found a woman, who had just been confined, with seven children of her own and three belonging to her sister in the tent.

In Fifeshire he heard of a Jamie Robinson, whose wife and daughter performed wild dances while he played He mentions too a family connected with a band of tinkers who bad a pleasant house at Ayr, and says that only a few years back the villagers at Stevenston pointed out the ruins of villages inhabited by Gypsies in the last century. The Scottish Gypsies he describes as travelling in small bands, mending pots, selling earthenware, dealing in rags, eggs, salt, and tobacco, carving horn spoons, shooting, fishing, and stealing. They sleep in sheds and barns or under the coverings of their carts taken off and placed on the ground. In some Highland counties they collect at the foot of mountains in huts covered with stubble; and some even take sheep with them on their travels as well as donkeys.

4.—Servian Gypsies

In 1862 the Rev. W. Denton, M.A., made a journey in Servia and described his experiences in a book, *Servia and the Servians*, (London, Bell and Daldy, 1862). His longest reference to the Gypsies is on pages 116-17: 'After dinner [at Dobra] we were visited by a party of gipsies, who sang several of the national airs and popular songs of Servia, especially the piece of music which is a favourite with all classes in this country, the "March of Prince Milosh." The gipsies are a very numerous body in Servia; they are met with in all parts of the country; and the energetic part which they took during the war with Turkey, and the services which they rendered to the national cause, have tended to give them a higher position here than in most other countries of Europe. They are mostly members of the Greek Church, frequenting the churches like the other inhabitants of the country [which may not mean much, since on page 190 Mr. Denton says that, although the Servians 'are willing to die for their religion at any time,' yet 'it is not so easy to get them to come to church'!], and are altogether of more settled habits than gipsies in general, though they are still reckoned a class apart from either the Wallachians or Servians, and are especially excluded from the suffrage. On the borders of Turkey many of the gipsy bands profess the Mahomedan faith. These people are the charcoal burners, the tinkers and smiths, the basket-makers, and trinket vendors, as well as the musicians of Servia. In the winter months they collect in the towns, but in the summer-time they resort to more congenial haunts, and are chiefly to be found in the recesses of the forests. The dress of this people, but more especially that of the women, is almost identical with that which, from the paintings in the tombs of Thebes, we know to have been the dress of the people of old Egypt, by many presumed to have been the native place of the

[1] Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 152-3.

gipsies. The head-dress, especially, bears the closest resemblance to that which is found in the paintings from Egypt preserved in the British Museum. In complexion they are as dark as the Hindoos or Nubians, and finer bronze figures than the naked gipsy children can nowhere be seen. In summer-time, and when they are in their home in the woods, not the children only, but the adults also, throw off the cumbersome and useless garb of civilised life, and roam about completely naked—wonderful models for the painter or the sculptor.'

Other references to Gypsy musicians occur on page 57, where the author mentions that from the coffee-shops in Belgrade 'came the sound of gipsy songs and the noise of the tambourine'; page 98, where 'gipsy musicians singing national songs to the few Servian airs which exist, and accompanying the voice by the beat of the tambourine' are counted among the attractions of St. Mark's-day fair; and page 129, where he mentions that during his dinner at Maidanpek 'a band of the zingali assembled under the windows of our dining-room, and sang the usual national songs.'

On page 60, he refers, as in the main description, to the Egyptian heresy: 'Gipsy-women, with their Egpytian faces and dresses of the same pattern which are seen in the tombs of old Thebes,' and on page 141 he declares that he saw in Posherawatz 'some pretty gipsy girls cheapening artificial flowers, and blushing very perceptibly through their bronzed cheeks at being detected in the act.' The exclusion of Gypsies from the suffrage is again mentioned on page 243: 'The electors are the males of the country above the age of twenty-one years, paying direct taxes and not being a domestic servant or a gipsy.'

On the road between Maidanpek and Posherawatz (p. 134) he passed 'camps of gipsies scattered here and there through the woods, with their ponies tethered wherever an opening in the forest gave sufficient pasturage for their beasts. In several places these people had constructed little huts of green boughs to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun; and wreaths of blue curling smoke from the fires, round which the women were busied in preparing the morning meal, pointed out their encampments.' To these fires, and to those of the swineherds, he attributes in page 120 the reckless destruction of much valuable timber.

R. A. Scott Macfie.

5.—Sea-Cave Gypsies in Scotland

'From a Northern Seaboard.' By Henry Hilton Brown, F.E.S. (*Chambers's Journal*, April 2, 1917, pp. 212-5.)

Some miles north of the Spey the sea is bordered by sandstone cliffs 'pierced with caves, many of which have been occupied by human beings since prehistoric times. At present they are the occasional residence of tinkers, those degenerate representatives of the more mysterious gipsies. An old man of this class had been born in one of these caves, and was in the habit of living in it for a period every year. During a spell of cold weather the farmer of the adjoining land, pitying the old man lying at night in such a den, offered him the use of an unoccupied cottage. The aged tinker moved in, but not for long. Next morning his son arrived at the farm in great excitement. "Ma faither's gotten's daith," he said. Accustomed as he was to the pure, though chilly, air of the cave, the close and germ-laden air of the cottage had caused the old man to contract a severe cold. He returned to his cavern forthwith.'

J. E. Lockyer.

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CONTENTS

THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. II YEAR 1923 No. 2

I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 17. Ī Īvéskerō.

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

P'urō mūrš ṗīrélas pes tɔp ō drom t'ī stādī yek rig. Leskō nav sas Īvéskerō.[1] *P'īrdás pes pɔš mīa. Aŋlé gyas ťā dikás vavēr mūršés. Akáva mūrš sovélas talé tɔp peskō pēr, ťā peskō ķand tɔp ī ṗūv.*

"Sō kesa tū akái, diniláia?" "Kek dinilō šom mē. Šunáva tɔp ī bɔ̄rīéŋerē[2] *te rakeréna aré ī Lundra." "Kesa tū, av tū mansa. Kuškō šunimáŋerō šan."*

FROSTY

An old man was strolling along the road with his hat cocked on one side. His name was Frosty. He walked half a mile. He went on and saw another man. This man was lying on his belly with his ear to the ground.

'What art thou doing here, thou fool?' 'I am no fool. I am listening to the Members of Parliament making speeches in London.' 'Thou wilt be of use, come with me. Thou hast excellent hearing.'

[1] *Īvéskerō*] *Īvéskerō* is generally preceded by the oblique article *ī*, not being one of those genitive adjectives used substantivally which have recognised meanings of their own, *e.g. ō bovéskerō*, 'baker,' *ō drabéŋerō*, 'doctor,' *ō petaléŋerō*, 'smith.'

[2] *bɔ̄rīéŋerē*] *bɔ̄rīéŋerē*, 'jurymen,' 'justices,' 'Members of Parliament,' is the gen. plur. of *bɔ̄rīā*, 'assizes' (itself the fem. plur. of *bɔ̄rō*, 'great'), the sense 'assize' as Smart and Crofton point out, svv. *Bauryó* and *Baúri*, being due to the assonance between 'assize' and 'a size.'

P'īrdé ō dūī talé ō drom pōpalé. Dik'é vavēr mūršés t'ī puška tэp ō ṗikō. "Sō kesa tū 'doi?" "Na dik'ésa sō keráva? Sī mak'ṫ tэp bārésṫī aré ī klizinákō ṫem?[1] *Ďava te márá lā ī puškása." "Kesa tū; av 'mensa."*

T'ā ṗīrdé talé ō drom pōpalē ō trin, ṫā dik'é vavēr mūršés. "Sō kesa tū 'doi?" ṗučdás ī Īvéskerō. "Sī pišaló dūr talé odói, ṫā nai kek bavál. P'urdáv ō pak'īá."[2] *"Kesa tū; 'vesa 'mensa?" Gyas ō mūrš lensa.*

P'īrdé talé ō drom, dik'é vavēr mūršés ī herói talal ī kak'. "Sō kesa tū oǰ?" "Tārdīóm mī herói, prastós būt būt." "Av tū 'mensa."

Talé ō drom gilé. Dik'é vavēr mūršés. Rigerélas bэrō ruk' opré peskō ṗīkō, bэrō žožvalō mūrš sas-lō.

'Vilé k'ō gav. Šundé trušal ī krališéskī filišín, ṫā sas les ṗurī čovexaní te prastélas miṡtó. Odói sas bэrō lovó te 'vel diniló 'doléskī te kūr'las ī ṗurī čovexaní. "Jasa 'mē opré kī krališéskī filišín," ṗukadás ī Īvéskerō.

The two went on down the road. They saw another man with a gun on his shoulder. 'What art thou doing there?' 'Dost thou not see what I am doing? There is a fly upon a rock in America? I am going to shoot it.' 'Thou wilt be of use, come with us.'

And the three went on down the road until they saw another man. 'What art thou doing there?' asked Frosty. 'There is a mill far away over yonder, and there is no wind: I am blowing the sails round.' 'Thou wilt be of use. Wilt thou come with us?' The man went with them.

They walked along the road. They saw another man carrying one of his legs under his arm. 'Why dost thou do that?' 'I have pulled my leg off lest I should run too fast.' 'Come thou with us.'

They went along the road. They saw another man. He was carrying a huge tree upon his shoulder, a great powerful man was he.

They came to the town. They heard talk of the king's court, and that he had an old witch who could run well. A great reward was offered to whomsoever could beat the old witch. 'Let us go up to the palace,' said Frosty.

[1] *klizinákō ṫem*] otherwise *'savimáskī klizín*, rendering America as 'a merry key.'

[2] *pak'īā*] lit. 'wings.' Here, as commonly in Welsh Romanī, Skt. medial -kṣ, Prākr. -kkh, becomes -*k'*, without transference of the aspiration as in the *ṗak* of most Continental dialects.

Opré k'ī filišín gilé. 'Yas bita rakeribén ī Īvéskerō t'ō kralíšos trušal ō prastiben. "Šī man mūrš te prastéla lasa." Ō mūrš sōr sutilé ar'ī filišín odóia rat.

'Prē 'cilé ar'ī 'saŕla. Ō kuškō prastimáskō mūrš t'ī čovexanť sas len te prastén 'kedisáŕla. Prastilé. "Ač bita, ī ṗurī čovexanī kūr'la lɐs," ṗukadás ō puškákerō ī Īveskeréskī. Ō puškákerō bišadás spiŋa aré lakō χɔχos,[1] t'ō prastimáŋerō kūrdás lā.

Ō kralíšos 'kanδ sas χōanó. "Sō sī 'kala mūrš?" ṗendás pestī. Sutilé ar'ī filišín pɔ̄palé odóia rat.

Ī ṗurī čovexanť ṗukadás ī kralíšéskī: "P'en kalikō te wɔntsésa ī len[2] aŋlán ī filišín te'vel šukerdť." Ō kuškō šunimáŋerō šunélas tɔp lendī. P'ukadás ī Īveskeréskī sō sas te 'vel.

Prečdé ar'ī 'saŕla. 'Vīás ō kralíšos, ťā ṗukadás leŋī te wɔntsélas ī len šukerdť kalikō 'saŕla. 'Saŕla 'vīás, ťā 'vrī gilé sōr lendē. K'ārdás ī Īvéskerō tɔp ō kuškō ṗurdimáŋerō. P'urdīás ō ṗurdimáŋerō ī len šukí, ťā sau čik ťā bārá avrí. P'urdīás ī len yūžť.

Na ǰunélas ō ṗurō kralíšos sō te kel lensa kek. Kūrdé ṗurī

They went up to the palace. Frosty and the king had a parley about the race. 'I have a man who will run with her.' The whole band slept in the palace that night.

They arose in the morning. This was the morning on which Run-well and the witch were to have their race. They raced. 'Wait a bit, the old witch is beating him,' exclaimed Shoot-well to Frosty. Shoot-well shot a dart into her knee, and Run-well beat her.

The king was enraged now. 'Who are these men?' said he to himself. They slept in the palace again that night.

The old witch counselled the king: 'Declare to-morrow that thou desirest the lake in front of the palace to be drained dry.' Hear-well overheard them. He told Frosty what was going to happen.

They arose in the morning. The king came and told them that he wanted the lake drained on the following morning. The day dawned, and out they went, every one of them. Frosty summoned Blow-well. Blow-well blew the lake dry; he blew all the mud and stones out of it and left it clean.

The old king did not know how to deal with them. They

[1] *χɔχos*]. From Eng. 'hock,' dial. 'hough.'

[2] *len*] The sense 'lake' instead of 'river' in which this word is always used in W. Romanī is probably due to Welsh 'llyn.'

čovexaní kotōréndī. "Čiváva len mē aré mīrt ṗurī sastārnéskī komóra, ťā keráva bārī yɔg tala latī sār tatī sār bov, ťā χɔčeráva len." Rāťť 'vīás. K'ārdás ō ṗurō kralíšos ī mūršén, ťā piradás akáva hudár. "Kamésas te sovés akái, 'kerát, Īveskeráia?" Gīás ī Īvéskerō aré. "Aua, sovása 'mē 'kai, tatō ťan sī." 'Sanīás ō ṗurō kralíšos. "Aua, tatō ťan sī: tatedér 'vela sig."

Aré gyas ī Īvéskerō ťā leskē mūrš. "Sovása tatés akái." Aré gilé ťā beštė talé. Rakerdé pen bita maŋkē ǰanas te sovén. Tatedér ťā tatedér ǰalas ō ťan. Gīás ō ťan būt tató 'kanś te 'čen aré lestī. Čidás ī Īvéskerō ī stādī vavēr rig. Šilalé sas-lē ťā gilé te rizerén. Pɔš mulé sas-lē ī šiléstē. Čidás ī Īvéskerō ī stādī bita bita 'prē. Šidró[1] gyas ō tan 'kanś. Čidé pen talé[2] ťā sutilé.

'Vīás ō ṗurō kralíšos 'rē ī 'sarla te dikél leŋī. Trašudó sas-lō te ť'atél len ǰidé. K'ārdás len avrí. "J̌an odói ťā len tumśrō χɔbén." 'Vīás ō ṗurō kralíšos aré pala-sō kedé te χɔn. "Wɔntsáva mē bērō kedó opré 'doia len; wɔntsáva te dikā les aŋlán ō hudār, kalikō 'sarla."

'Sarla 'vīás, ť'ō bērō sas kedó. "Wɔntsáva mē ō bērō te ǰal ťā

had beaten the old witch hollow. 'I will lodge them in my old iron chamber and kindle a great fire beneath it till it is as hot as an oven, and I will burn them to death.' Night fell. The old king summoned the men, and threw open this door. 'Wouldst thou like to sleep here to-night, Frosty?' Frosty entered. 'Yes, we will sleep here; it is a warm room.' The old king smiled. 'Yes, it is a warm room, and it will be warmer presently.'

In went Frosty and his men. 'We shall sleep snugly here.' They went in and sat down. They talked a little before settling to sleep. The room grew hotter and hotter. Presently it became too hot to stop in. Frosty cocked his hat on the other side. They were chilled through, and began to shiver. They were half dead with cold. Frosty tilted his hat up a very little. Then the room grew cool. They lay down and slept.

The old king came in the morning to look for them. He was amazed to find them alive. He called them outside. 'Go over there and get your breakfast.' The old king returned after they had finished their meal. 'I want a ship built upon that lake. I want to see it before the door to-morrow morning.'

Morning dawned, and the ship had been built. 'I want the ship

[1] *Šidró*] = Cont. Gyp. *šudrō*, but Paspati has also the by-forms *sidró*, *sitró*.

[2] *Čidé pen talé*] *čiv-* with reflexive pronoun, and *talé* = 'to lie down.'

kek pānī talál lestī." K'ārdás ī Īvéskerō ō kuškō ṗurdimáŋerō. P'urdīás ō bērō avrí ō dud pɔs te kek na 'šiš dikénas les.[1]

P'učdás ō kralíšos ī Īveskeréstē: "Kisī lovō wɔntsésa te ǰes tukī?" "Oǰ́ būt sār yek o mīrē būtīéŋerē rigeréla." "Lesa les," χɔč'ō kralíšos.

Ak'ō žožvalō mūrš te 'vela bɔrē, bɔrē gonésa. Piradás ī gonéskō mūī. Pɔš ṗārdīás les. "Okē sār būt sār rigerésa," ṗukadás ō kralíšos. 'Yas ō žožvalō mūrš ō gonō ar'ō vast. "Akáva bita kār'sa ṗɔró? P'ārdē les." Dikás ō ṗurō kralíšos χōanés tɔp lestī. P'ārdīás ō gonō. "P'ārdīóm les 'kanṓ, olē len les, ťā ǰan tuméŋī, ťā mɔ̄ 'ven akái kekkómī." Lilé ō sonakai ťā gilé peŋī.

Pala-sō gilé χɔlas tuga[2] *ō ṗurō kralíšos pala sau lovō. Bišadás peskē kūrimáŋerē pala lendī. Ō šunimáŋerō šundás len te 'ven. "'Čen bita, šunáva mē ō kūrimáŋerē 'vena pala 'mendī." 'Čilé ō mūrš ťā dikḗ pala pendī. "Mɔ̄ trašén!" ṗukadás ī Īvéskerō. 'Vilé ō kūrimáŋerē pɔšē lendī. Čidás ī Īvéskerō peskī hufa yek*

to sail with no water beneath it.' Frosty summoned Blow-well. He blew the ship out of sight, until none could see it.

The king asked Frosty: 'How much money dost thou want to be off?' 'As much as one of my servants can carry?' 'Thou shalt have it,' quoth the king.

Here comes Strong-man with a huge sack. He opened the mouth of the sack. He half filled it. 'That is as much as thou canst carry,' said the king. Strong-man took the sack in his hand. 'Dost thou call this trifle heavy? Fill it.' The old king looked angrily at him. He filled the sack. 'I have filled it now: there, take it, and be off, and come ye here no more.' They took the gold and departed.

When they had gone the old king was beside himself with grief at the loss of all the money. He sent his soldiers after them. Hear-well heard them coming. 'Wait a moment, I hear soldiers following us.' The men halted and looked behind them. 'Do not fear,' said Frosty. The soldiers drew near to them. Frosty

[1] 'He blew the ship out of sight until none could see it'—a description which recalls the famous lines of the old ballad:—

'The Spanish fleet cannot be seen
For it is not in sight.'

[2] *χɔlas tuga*] *tuga*, 'grief,' 'sorrow,' which must not be mistaken for a doublet of *duk'*, is a Slavic loan-word (Mik. i. 41, no. 552) which in W. Romanī occurs only in the idiomatic phrase *χɔ- tuga*, 'to suffer grief, 'to brood over one's sorrows,' 'to fret,' 'to pine,' lit. 'to eat grief'; cp. Thesleff (p. 24) *chā tuggi*, 'trauern.'

rig. 'Čilé ō kūrimáŋerē odói, 'šiš čalavénas pen kek, sōr rizerénas šiléstē.

T'ō ṗurō Īvéskerō peserdás sōr peskē mūršén. K'eré gyas kokorō kī peskī nɔgī vlija, ťā kindás bita filišín peskī. T'ā 'doi ǰivéla 'kanʒ, ťā kela mīstó. T'ā gilé ī Vešéŋerē 'doi ťā bɔšadé leskī.

cocked his cap on one side. The soldiers were rooted to the spot, they could not move, they were all shaking with cold.

Then old Frosty paid off all his men. He went home alone to his native village, and bought a little mansion for himself. And there he lives still, and is doing well. And the Woods went there and played the fiddle for him.

[The story of the Champions, if we may so label for convenience the persons possessed of remarkable powers of eating, drinking, blowing, hearing, etc., who are more happily called in French 'les Doués,' is distributed throughout the area in which the Indo-European group of folk-tales is current. It has rather strangely been claimed as supporting the theory of coincidence, *i.e.* the completely independent invention of the same story among different peoples. It has been urged that among the companions of Jason were the boxer Polydeukes, the winged sons of Boreas, and Lynkeus of the sharp sight, and that Arthur's court included champions with magical powers of sight, leaping, running, eating, etc. (Guest, *Mabinogion, The Tale of Kilhwch and Olwen*, London, 1902, ed. Owen, ii. pp. 73 foll.). But, although it does not seem impossible to suppose that the idea of champions excelling in some particular quality may have arisen quite independently in different places, it is extremely improbable that definite plots or uniform series of incidents in a certain order narrating the exercise of these powers should have been invented more than once. These plots do not in fact occur in the *Red Book of Hergest* nor in the *Saga of the Argonauts*, and it may be noticed that it is irrelevant with Lang to remark that the Quest of the Golden Fleece narrates the theme of winning a princess by the performance of tasks, for these tasks are not achieved by the exercise of the Champions' particular specialities.

The Tale of Jason is in fact a different story.

Two such Champions occur frequently in variants of *Jean de l'Ours* as treacherous companions of the strong hero. For the discussion of this story, which has little bearing upon the one

before us, reference may be made to Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i. pp. 23 foll.

For the rest the stories of the Champions fall into two distinct types, with a number of intermediate variations due to the confusion or combination of the two.

A. How by means of their special powers which are due to (i) natural gift; (ii) acquired art; or (iii) the possession of some magical object the Champions discovered and delivered the princess from an ogre, magician or the like. The ogre recovers the princess, but is killed, and the princess saved once more by the joint exercise of the Champions' powers. The story concludes with the problem, 'Which of the Champions deserves to marry her?'

B. The Champions perform a series of tasks in order to (i) win the hand of a princess (*a*) for one of themselves, or (*b*) for a hero in whose service they have enlisted, or (ii) to secure the payment of a debt owed by the king. The king attempts in vain to roast them in an iron chamber; they remove their booty and annihilate an army sent in pursuit.

A paper of the great Sanskrit scholar Benfey, which was republished in his *Kleinere Schriften zur Maerchenforschung* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 94-156, I have not had the opportunity to read. More recent discussions with innumerable references (much material has accumulated since Benfey's date) will be found in Bolte und Polívka's notes to Grimm, Nos. 71 and 134, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, ii. pp. 79-96; iii. 84-85; and in the posthumously published work of Cosquin, *Les Contes Indiens et l'Occident* (Paris, 1922), pp. 427-612.

With Type *A* we are not immediately concerned, but there is a point of some interest upon which I cannot resist the opportunity for comment. The story ends with a problem which in most European versions is evaded or solved in a somewhat feeble way. A version also exists both in the East and West, in which the solution or suggested solution is the cutting of the princess in pieces (see Cosquin, *op. cit.*, pp. 607 foll.). If M. Cosquin is arguing that this version is of Indian origin, I should agree with him; if he means to imply that it is the original form of the story in India, I should be more doubtful. It by no means follows that the most barbarous elements in a folk-tale are original, and stories in the process of oral transmission are in fact more frequently

barbarised than refined. I am still of the opinion expressed in Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 247-8, that the original form of the story was that which ended in an unsolved problem as one of a series of similar problem stories (the two usually combined with it are the allied first part of *Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Peri Banu*, and *The Carpenter, Tailor, and Man of God*) which are set in the story-frame, a clear indication in itself of Oriental origin, of the *Silent Princess*. The difficulty of the problems with which these stories end provides the means by which the princess is induced to speak.

Returning to Type *B*, M. Cosquin (*op cit.*, p. 434 foll.) has pointed out that there is a difficulty in accounting for the performance of the tasks not by the hero himself but by proxies, which is got over in various ways. European story-tellers often frankly ignore it, and the task set to the hero is not 'do so and so,' but 'find me a man to do so and so.' Sometimes the difficulty is with greater or less adroitness circumvented—*e.g.* in the German variant in which the hero, on being set the task of eating the prescribed prodigious quantity, obtains permission to take with him not more than one companion, on the ground that a meal without company is a tasteless affair. In two types of the story, both of which are of Oriental origin, the difficulty is avoided at the outset. In the first the Champions are supernatural beings who possess the power of invisibility and that of assuming when need arises the appearance of the hero, in the second the Champions are brothers who are indistinguishable in appearance, the Listener or Diviner ascertains the nature of the task about to be set and the appropriate brother undertakes it. In both cases the king is deceived by appearances into thinking that a single individual, *i.e.* the hero in person, has performed all his various tasks.

In our story, which is again an example of disintegration in the process of oral transmission, one of the Champions is himself the leader of the band. For other examples of 'un consortium entre le héros et ses compagnons,' *i.e.* where the band accepts joint responsibility for performing the tasks and a joint reward, see Cosquin, *op cit.*, p. 446 foll. The hand of the princess as the prize for performance of the tasks has dropped out, and the race is prompted merely by the desire to win the purse put up for a sporting event. In the race the princess is usually the competitor, but sometimes it is her witch mother, and our old witch belongs to a sound tradition. The unsportsmanlike behaviour of Shoot-well,

who in the excitement of the moment seems to have reverted from his modern gun to his more primitive and proper weapon, is a weakening of the story due, no doubt, to a recollection that Shoot-well saved the situation, but a forgetfulness as to how he did so. The clumsy patch which has resulted is a good illustration of the process by which a story degenerates in the hands of a series of amateur story-tellers. In the true version Run-well outstrips his adversary, but (*a*) is bewitched by her, or (*b*) thinks that he has the race so well in hand that he can afford a nap. Shoot-well wakes him in time either by nicking his ear with an arrow or by shooting away the horse's skull upon which he has pillowed his head.

The magical ship which sails over sea and land plays an important *rôle* in variants of stories of the Champions both of Type *A* and Type *B*. Sometimes it is demanded by the king as a curiosity impossible to procure, often it is capable of indefinite expansion or contraction to hold an innumerable multitude, or to go into the hero's pocket, and quite normally the hero starts in the magical ship and collects in it the Champions during the course of its voyage. The ramifications of this theme are discussed at length in Cosquin, *op cit.*, pp. 452-71. In our story it has sunk to a meaningless incident.

The *Champions* in these stories vary in number; six is not an unusual figure (*e.g.* Grimm, Nos. 71, 134). The peculiarities of the individuals which attract Frosty's attention are according to plan. Thus *Run-well* has often an iron ball, a cannon, or a millstone attached to his leg to regulate his progress to ordinary needs, or has his legs bound together so that he can take but tiny steps, or (as in Grimm, 71) has a detachable leg, which he has taken off in order to avoid running quicker than the birds can fly. Noticeable absentees among our heroes are *Eater* and *Drinker*. The eating test has consequently dropped out, and the draining of the lake, usually the work of *Drinker*, has been assigned to *Blow-well*.

M. Cosquin, *op cit.*, pp. 439 foll., has collected some most interesting Oriental parallels to the iron dungeon and the futile attempt to roast the Champions therein. The cooling of the chamber is normally effected either by Drinker, who, forewarned by Hear-well, has filled his capacious self with water, which he spits out when things become hot, or, as here, by Frosty.

The cocking of Frosty's hat as a means of regulating tempera-

ture occurs in German variants, and in a Lithuanian story severe cold is induced if one of the Companions removes his thumb from his mouth. In a Russian story one of the Champions has a bandage round his head, because otherwise his hair would produce an intense frost. In this latter M. Cosquin sees the original explanation of the reason for the efficacy of the shifting of the hat, which similarly uncovers the magical hair of the Champion, though he thinks that Frosty's hat may also be due in part to 'an infiltration of the theme of *Magical Objects* into the theme of *Extraordinary Personages*.' See Cosquin, *op. cit.*, p. 437, with notes and references.

The Destruction of the Pursuers, which in our story is effected by Frosty, is usually the work of Blow-well, who wrecks the fleet or blows away the army which the king has sent in pursuit. Sometimes Drinker washes the army away with a flood.

W. R. H.]

II.—THE LANGUAGE OF THE RUSSIAN GYPSY SINGERS

By B. Gilliat-Smith

II

Songs and Texts

As already stated, the majority of the songs sung by the St. Petersburg and Moscow Gypsies are of the well-known type called by the Russians 'Gypsy Romances.' This is not the place to publish the text or the music of songs which, however much they may be associated with Gypsies in the minds of Russians, have nothing to do with the Gypsy language. Unlike Spain, Russia has never cultivated the Gypsy language, and the few Gypsy songs which have become popular even outside Gypsy circles, and the words of which may be found printed in Russian collections, are, as rendered, full of the grossest mistakes, so much so that their meaning is quite unintelligible alike to Russians and to Romani scholars. Such mistakes would be avoided were any interest evinced in Russia in Romani as a language.

Accordingly I think it worth while putting on record the text of the very hackneyed song '*Džindjóm me pre póčta*,' which is known to every one in Russia, and is familiar to many outside that

country, for instance to Bulgarians who have any pretension to a knowledge of Russian popular music. It is generally fearfully mutilated. At its best it is a mixture of Romani and Russian.

I

Džindjóm me pre póčta,	I lived at the post,
Džindjóm me pre barí.	I lived at the great.
Im'él[1] *me, im'él me síla zoralí.*	I possessed, I possessed mighty great strength.
Aχ raspašól, mro sívy grai pašól.	Oh, he has gone, my grey horse has fled!
Aχ raspašól, χaróšaja-maja.	Oh, he has gone, my beautiful one!

II

Karík me na džáva,	Wherever I go,
Karík me n'e paidú,	Wherever I go,
Usá pre minútka ke tumé ja zavernú.	I'll be back in a minute, and return to you.
Aχ raspašól, mro sívy grai pašól,	Oh, he has gone, etc.
Aχ raspašól, χaróšaja-maja.	

III

Podén-t'e, podén-t'e	Place now, oh place now
Bakále pro skamínd.	The cups upon the board.
Čivén-t'e, čivén-t'e bravínta sygedýr.	Pour out now, pour out now the wine in great haste.
Aχ raspašól, mro sívy grai pašól.	Oh, he has gone, etc.
Aχ raspašól, χaróšaja-maja.	

The student of Romani will easily detect that which is Romani and that which is Russian. *Džindjóm* is the past tense, first person singular, of the verb *dživáva*, I live, coinciding with the past tense of *džináva* or *džinóm*, I know. *Usá* is the Balkan Gypsy *sa*, all, used in the sense of always. *Čivén-t'e*: the verb *čiváva* in this dialect generally means to pour.

[1] An apostrophe following a consonant denotes the 'Mouillirung' of that consonant.

Another favourite song among the habitués is '*Pal-só byló v'l'ubl'át's'a.*' The second verse, always sung with great vigour, is in the purest Romani, and comes as a pleasant surprise, after the funny mixture of the first.

I

Pal-só byló v'l'ubl'át's'a,	What was the use of falling in love,
Pal-só byló l'ubít'i-né?	What was the good of loving at all?
Zadúmal jov žen'ít's'a,	He thought he would marry . . .
N'e stóilo gubít'.	It was not worth while.

II

Šunén, šunén, Romále,	Hear, oh hear, ye Romanichals,
Šunén so rakiráva,	Hear what I will say,
Atasjá javáva,	To-morrow I will come,
Saró pχenáva.	I will tell you all.

III

Zamarózil, zaznobíl,	He fell out of love, and fell in
Vaverá jov pol'ubíl.	love and started loving another.

(This is scarcely a literal translation of the third verse, the Russian verbs of which, with their present meaning, do not belong to the literary language.)

There are two airs to this song. The second melody is used when the Gypsies are alone among themselves. It is a drunken sort of tune, sung with one elbow on the table, the arm supporting a head heavy with the effects of wine or vodka. When thus sung the following pretty little verse is often added to the others:

Pasjóv tu, mirí χaróšaja,	Sleep thou, my beauty,
Pasjóv, mirí raný,	Sleep, my lady,
Na lava bezpakóit'i-né,	I will not disturb thee,
Do sámoi do zarí.	Right on till the break of day.

Between each of the above verses the air is repeated without words or with tra-ra-ri-ras 'ad libitum,' always accompanied by the guitars.

The interjection *ne*, tacked on to so many verbs, often seems to fulfil no other purpose than that of supplying the necessary

number of syllables for the melody. The future is formed with the help of '*lava*': *láva te džav*.

The following song is the finest of my little collection. It is also the best I have ever heard these Gypsies sing. It is entirely their own, having nothing of the Russian style about it. It is not liked by the Russians as a rule. They say it is like a dirge. I am told it is very ancient, a '*ġaratuní gilý*,' sung of yore by the elders of the tribe when gathered together to celebrate some Gypsy feast. Old men are said to cry while singing it, keening 'sotto voce' to themselves. In general it is only at the refrain that a second voice joins in, harmonising the melody. When one is lucky enough to hear it sung spontaneously at a 'Gypsy concert' it is never on the programme. It is sung in an interval, when no one has called for a song, when the Gypsy women are resting, drinking and smoking, when no one is listening.

I

Doχané joné man, tiré kalé jakχá.	They have eaten into me, thy black eyes.
Savé góžo joné, dryván lačé joné.	How beautiful they are, exceeding fair are they.
Ai mejóm, χasióm.	Oh, I am dead, I am destroyed.
Ai-da miró ternó čavoró.	Alas, my young laddie.

II

Te karík me te džav, te karík te našáv,	And whither shall I go, and whither shall I flee?
Bi-lyléskiro som, prastabnáskiro som.	I am without a pass, a wanderer am I.
Ai mejóm, χasióm.	Oh, I am dead, I am destroyed.
Ai-da miró kaló šeró.	Alas, my black head.

III

Zagejóm adró veš, adró tjómno, baró.	I entered the forest, the dark, the great.
Zriskerdjóm jadá čar,	I plucked those herbs,
Ne po dušé me sfajéj.	Against my will.
Ai mejóm, χasióm.	Oh, I am dead, I am destroyed.
Ai-da miró ternó čavoró.	Alas, my young laddie.

IV

Te rakírna o romá, te maráv me romnjá.	And the Gypsies do say that I should thrash my wife.
Ne, pal-so la te maráv,	Nay, why should I thrash her,
Kogdá la na moláv?	When I am not worthy of her?
Ai mejóm, χasióm,	Oh, I am dead, I am destroyed.
Ai-da miró kaló šeroró.	Alas, my black head.

I believe the Romani of the above song requires but little elucidation. *Xané* is the regular form, in this dialect, of the 3rd person plural, past tense, where the *n* stands for the *l* of most other dialects. *Góžo*, meaning beautiful, pretty, is a loan adjective, very typical of this dialect. Cf. Russian 'góžen'ki.' *Dryván* is the *drówen* of the German Gypsies. Here it is only used in old songs. In conversation it is replaced by *garás*, or by the Russian 'óčen'.' *Pal-só* is nearly always used for 'why' instead of *sóske*. It is a literal translation of the Russian 'začém.' *Kogdá* (when) is Russian. The dialect appears to have quite lost the Romani *kána*. In Russian the word is pronounced nearly 'kagdá.' The Gypsies always give the *o* its *o* sound in this and in many other loan words.

The verb *moláva*, to be worth, to be worthy, is interesting; cf. German Romani *mol, vol*, found also in this dialect, e.g. *kitsi mol*, how much is it? (See Miklosich, vol. viii.)

The songs given as specimens by Patkanoff at the end of his grammar are also very old, *ġaratuné giljá*. (*Ġaratuno* is an adjective meaning ancient, from the adverb *ġará*, long ago, long sinċe; cf. the German Romani *ráχa, hárga.*) When going through these songs with the Gypsies I found that the first one given by Patkanoff, and already published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, '*Sósa, Gríša,*' was well known to them, but they had not sung it or heard it sung since their childhood. My Gypsies pronounced *ná-χaí* (Patkanoff's *náχaja*). *Xaí* is the shortened gerundive for *χaindós*. *Xajá* is a mixture of the Romani and the Russian gerundives. The presence of the shortened gerundives and the use of *n* for *l* in the 3rd person plural past tense, and *s* for *š* in *pásjovava*, to lie down, sleep, are peculiarities common to this, and, strange to say, to the Moslem East-Bulgarian Tinner dialect.

The following song is typical of the Russian sentimental Gypsy romances. It consists of two verses, the first pure Russian, the

second, with the exception of the one word *kogdá* (when), pure Romani. The melody is quite modern, quite Western in fact. The words are of the simplest, but the way it is sung, the extraordinarily passionate Romani way, prevents it being trivial.

I

N'e uježái tyi, moi galúbčik.
Pečál'na žyzn' mn'e bez t'eb'á.
Dai ad'ín svoi patselújčik,
Skažýi što l'úbiš tyi m'en'á.
Skažýi tyi mn'e, skažýi tyi mn'e
Što l'úbiš m'en'á, što l'úbis m'en'á,
Skažýi tyi mn'e, skažýi tyi mn'e, što l'úbiš tyi m'en'á.

I

Do not depart, my little dove.
Sad is life without you.
Give but one of your little kisses,
Say that you love me.
Tell me, tell me, that you love me, that you love me.
Tell me, tell me, that you do love me.

II

Kogdá dyvés tut na dykχáva[1]
Me na džinóm[2] *karík te džav.*
Kogdá lavá tiré na šunáva
Me na džinóm so te keráv.
Kamám me tut, kamám me tut,
Čamúde[3] *man, čamúde man.*
Kamám me tut, kamám me tut, čamúde man.

[1] *Dykχáva.* The χ, so pronounced in conversation, is scarcely audible when singing.

[2] *Džinóm.* This is the regular form for the 1st person singular present tense of this verb in this dialect. Patkanoff records it without comment, while Miklosich wrongly takes it to be the past tense 1st person singular (Mik. pt. 11, Übergang des M in V.). The latter is *džindjóm.* It may be noted that the regular form of the 1st person singular present tense *džináva* also exists, as witnessed by the following line: *vaš konéske garavíva, kókori džiníva,* for whom I am concealing (scil. the flowers) alone I know.

[3] *Čamodáva* is the *čumídav* of the Balkan dialects.

II

The day when I do not see you
I do not know whither to go.
When your words I do not hear
I do not know what I shall do.
I love you, I love you,
Kiss me, kiss me.
I love you, I love you, oh kiss me.

I subjoin various little snatches of songs illustrative of the present state of the dialect.

Me tut kamám;	I love you;
Túsa me našáva.	With you I will flee.
Túsa bi-lovéngiro	With you without money
Syr-ni-buď dživáva.	Anyhow I will live.
M'ilyi moi druzóček,	My darling little friend,
Čamúde man razóček.	Kiss me just once.
Me tut ǧará kamám,	I have long loved you.
Me daráva te pχenáv.	I feared to tell you.
So javéla, to javéla,	What will be will be,
Usá tu mirí javésa.	You will always be mine.
Paš e sfjátle jag bešésa,	Near the bright fire you will sit,
Paš e sfjátle jag bešésa,	Near the bright fire you will sit,
Kχurmí bárščo keravésa,	Millet broth you will cook,
Kχurmí bárščo keravésa,	Millet broth you will cook,
Saré romorén skχarésa.	All the Gypsies you will call.

The following sentences further illustrate the present state of this dialect. They are all taken from letters which I have received from both the Gypsy ladies who were in Sofia in 1921.

1. *Naštý te aváv bi-tiraχéngiro, polésa?*	I cannot be without shoes, do you understand?
2. *Miri prós'ba ná-ker dylnypé i na spχánde-pes nikonésa i na dža částo pašé roménde, džinés joné savé melalé, saví zaráza sy pre lende, me rakχél o Devél . . .*	My request (is) do not commit any folly, and do not bind yourself to any one (*lit.* with any one), and do not go often to the Gypsies, you know how dirty they (are), and that there is nothing but infection on them, may God protect you! (*or* God forbid!).

3. *Odói me na daráva, ustróius' kai fedýr i naχaí na bešáva.* There I do not fear, I will arrange where it is most advantageous, and I shall not remain without food.

4. *Me užásno grubióm, láva pro pljážo te zlav-pe, bičaváva-tuke kártočka, i togdá dykχésa savi me tχulí. Me kamámas tu te dykχés, man i na galjósas . . .* I have grown dreadfully fat, I will be photographed on the front, I will send you a card and then you will see how fat I have grown. I should like you to see, you would not recognise me.

5. *Čavoré miré užásno našukír pes lydžána.* My little boys are behaving horribly badly.

6. *Čin syr sy láke bí-miro. Ač Devlésa.* Write how she is getting on without me. Good-bye.

7. *Džinésa savi mange bol' dro jiló kerdjá miro pšal? Jov kogdá javjá ke me, me les na dykχtjóm štar berš, i jov pχendjá so mirí dai i pšal V. i pχen Z. užé berš syr myné, a vavír trin pχenjá i tyknó pšal dživéna dro Kiev i drabakírna, a pšal sy izvózčik.* Do you know what a pain in the heart my brother gave me? When he came to me I had not seen him for four years, and he said that my mother and my brother V. and my sister J. had already been dead a year, and that my other three sisters and little brother live in Kiev and tell fortunes, and my little brother is a cabman.

Kogdá me saró adavá šundjóm me n'e moglá te rováv, mánde tóljko jiló zamejá syr bar, a dro kirlo kerdjá-pe kómbo, džinés syr pχaró mange te bagáv i vesel'ít's'a kogdá adasavó góre, ne so-že, Devléskiri vólja! When I heard all this I was unable to cry, but my heart became dead as a stone, and a lump came into my throat.

Do you know how hard it is to sing and to make merry when there is such grief. But, what (is one to do)? God's will!

8. *Kamam sygedýr té aváv dro Berlíno so-by te galjováv vazmóžno-li čérez Amerikánsko loló trušýl te janén pχenjén dro Berlíno, rakírna so adavá vazmóžno, lava akana te čináv-lenge lylá . . . žálko, terné χasjóna.*

Progín adavá lyl M.-áke i čin syr joné saré dživéna.

I want to get to Berlin as soon as possible, to find out whether it is possible through the American Red Cross to bring my sisters to Berlin. They say that it is possible. I will now write to them, a pity, they are being ruined while still young.

Read this letter to M. and write how they are all getting on.

9. *Prilé adá gadžés i šun so jov túke pχenéla. Jov si lačó, jov dyjá butý miré roméske. So jov kamél túter me na džinóm. Léskiri família Inžéniér G. Me-χnjén-leske!*

Receive this gorgio and hear what he will say to you. He is a good fellow, he gave work to my husband. What he wants from you I do not know. His name is Engineer G. May he be defiled! (*lit.* 'cacent ei').

10. *Tyri čaiorí andjá-mange túter lyl, me n'e moglá la te priláv dry štúba, pal-davá so na sys ukedynó. Óčen' mánge tut tángo so tu san nasfaló.*

Me adadyvés džáva dry kχangirí dro šov mardé, mangáv Devlés pal tute. Tu adadyvés už ná-výdža, jésli sy izdraný naštý te výdžas.

Miró nastrojénje óčen' nalačó, na džinóm pal-so, možetbyť pal-dava-so som beštý kχeré tsélo dyvés i nikonés nané konésa te rakiráv. Javáva óčen' rádo jésli tu atasjá avésa zdróvo, i avésa ke me, láva tut te užakiráv. Ač

Your little daughter brought me a letter from you, I was unable to receive her in the room, as it was not tidied up. I am very sorry for you that you are ill.

I will go to the church to-day at six o'clock, I will pray to God for you. Don't you go out to-day, you cannot go out if you have got fever.

I am in a very bad mood, I don't know why, perhaps because I am seated at home all day, and there is no one with whom to speak. I shall be very glad if you are well to-morrow and come to me, I will expect you. Remain

Devlésa. čaiorjén.	*Čamudava tyrén*	with God. I kiss your little daughters.

With the publication of the above texts I have completed the sketch of the dialect of the Russian Gypsy singers. Some people have already told me that this sketch was unnecessary, and that the dialect was already sufficiently known through Patkanoff's grammar, and that I am needlessly going over a beaten track. I think, however, that this examination of the dialect will not come amiss to many students of Romani. Apart from the desirability of overhauling all known Romani dialects every twenty or thirty years, in order to ascertain to what extent they have deteriorated in a given period, much has come to light and been published since Patkanoff wrote (before 1900), and many students will doubtless like to be in a position to determine what place Russian Romani should occupy among Romani dialects.

Has this dialect deteriorated since Patkanoff's day? Take for example No. 3 in Bourgeois' transcription of Patkanoff's texts. This begins: '*Ne šun so me tuke rozpχenáva. Gará adavá isýs. Me inke tyknó sómas. Skedejám-pe amé jekχvór pro tárgo,*' etc. In reading the above and what follows I seem to hear one of the Gypsy singers talking, so exactly does Patkanoff get their way of speaking, their style. And yet in the few words quoted two will be found which may be said no longer to belong to the dialect's vocabulary: *inké*, which is the Roumanian 'încă,' is quite forgotten, and is replaced by the Russian 'ješčó,' while *jekχvór* is already archaic. They always say *jekχ rázo*, or *jekχ mol* (German 'Mal'). I could give other examples. In my opinion a deterioration is noticeable, but it is very slight.

If it be permissible to bring this dialect into the system of classification which I used in the case of the Gypsy dialects of North-East Bulgaria, this dialect belongs unquestionably to the 'Non-Vlach' group. The termination of the 1st person singular past tense *-jom* instead of *-em*; the use of *na* instead of *in, ni, inči, niči, či*; of *maró* instead of *marnó, manró*; of *pani* instead of *pai*; the use of the word *atasjá* instead of *tehára*; *kaǰní* instead of *khainí*; the absence of the prefixed '*a*' in *šunáva, košáva, kχaráva, lav* (a word) are all forms pointing to the 'Non-Vlach' group.

III.—BILL OF SALE OF GYPSY SLAVES IN MOLDAVIA, 1851

By Dr. M. GASTER

ON the death of the 'vistiernik' (minister of finance), Aleku Sturza, it was found that he had left large debts behind. Among them his widow, Elenko Sturza, claimed 15,500 ducats—the amount of her dowry. The matter was brought into court and finally reached the 'divan,' the highest court of judicature, which decided on the public sale of some of the property left, in which were included a number of Gypsies living on his estate Heleštenii, in the province of Roman, in the principality of Moldavia. All this was to be offered for public auction. The final decision was passed on the 10th May 1851, giving six months' notice to creditors to put in their claims or to raise objections. On Sunday, the 9th September 1851, this decision appeared in the official gazette, *Buletin, Foaea Publicaţiilor Oficiale a Principatului Moldaviei*, Jašii, Duminică în 16 Septembrie, 1851, Anul XIII, ff. 107-109, No. 23, setting out in detail the property to be sold, and appended to it was a complete list of the Gypsies in question.

Though no similar list has ever been brought to the attention of students of Gypsy lore, these sales must have been comparatively common, as there seems to have been a fixed, or at any rate normal, price at which the slaves were sold. For, when the Bucharest papers in 1845 announced the sale of 200 families of Gypsies, who had belonged to the late 'Serdar' Nika, they added that they would be sold at a ducat less than usual, as not less than five families must be taken at a time,[1] though six years later it was made illegal in Wallachia to dispose of more than three families at once or to separate families when sold.[2] And these sales must have been going on for centuries. Indeed, the earliest document relating to Rumanian Gypsies that has been discovered up to the present is a confirmation by Mirča I. (1382-1418) of Wallachia of a transfer of forty tents (Sălasi) of Gypsies—by gift, not sale—made by his uncle Vlad I. to a monastery.[3] That seems to indicate that the Rumanian Gypsies were already slaves in the middle of the fourteenth century; and so the laws

[1] Tissot, *Chez les Tsiganes*, p. 26.
[2] *Times*, Jan. 21, 1851.
[3] Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 28.

of Radu IV. of Wallachia and Stefan IV. of Moldavia in the later part of the fifteenth century and of others later[1] were presumably only reinforcements of the existing state of affairs. That of Alexander the Good earlier in the same century granting Gypsies free air and land to wander in and fire and iron for smith's work[2] does not necessarily imply freedom. For, though nominally slaves, the Gypsies owned by the state were always free to wander: and in their case the slavery merely consisted in paying a tribute. The Rudari (gold-washers) paid a tithe of the gold collected; the Ursari (bear-leaders), Lingurari (spoon-makers) and Lăieși ('wanderers,' of no fixed trade) 20 or 30 piastres a head. The only real slaves, in the ordinary sense of the term, must have been those of the privately owned Vâtraši, who acted as grooms, coachmen, cooks and domestic servants to their owners: but even among the Vâtraši many were tradesmen in the villages—subject presumably to a tax and little else. The rest of the Gypsies in private hands were called Lăieši, and they differed in nothing from the state-owned Gypsies of the same name, except in paying their tribute to their owner instead of to the state. They were mostly smiths and comb-makers, and their wives fortune-tellers and thieves: but they were occasionally called upon to act as masons. They travelled in tents in the summer and settled in caves in the winter. They were divided into small groups of families, generally 10 to 15 according to Kogălniceanu; but in the present document the numbers are higher and vary from 20 to 37: and these groups were under the leadership of a 'Judge' (Ğiude), who collected the taxes and passed them on to a higher official, the Bulibaša, who was responsible for their delivery to the owner. Both these officials had the rights of riding, wearing a beard, a long red cloak, yellow or red shoes and a 'Phrygian' cap of lambskin, and of carrying a whip of three thongs to punish petty offenders. The Bulibaša, who was always chosen from a family which had already supplied one, acted as judge and took 2 per cent. of the money he collected.[3]

It is with four such groups (cete) that our document deals, the name of the Ğiude being placed at the top of each group, followed by the heads of families and the members of each family, with sex and age and in some cases occupation: and the Ğiude's

[1] Vaillant, *Les Romes*, p. 218.
[2] Kogalnitchan-Casca, *Skizzen einer Geschichte der Zigeuner*, p. 14.
[3] All these details are taken from Kogalnitchan-Casca, pp. 14 foll.

family is given last.[1] It is noticeable that in none of these four groups is he the oldest man: but when brothers of his occur in the same group they are always younger, so possibly the office was hereditary and the absence of an elderly chief is only an accident. The comparative scarceness of old people in these groups—there are none over seventy—rather supports this suggestion.

One is tempted to look for parallels between the organisation of these people and that of the Coppersmiths of Rumanian origin, who have been fairly fully treated in the *Journal*. But the rareness of definite surnames—as distinct from trade-names—among them, and the natural absence of any indication of who the women were before they married, makes it difficult to draw any conclusive deductions from the list. Besides, one cannot tell how far the division into tribes was a matter of choice or an arrangement forced upon them for the purposes of taxation, though presumably as they were under Gypsy leaders their own arrangements would be made as far as possible. The presence of persons bearing the same surname, including brothers, in different groups may perhaps indicate a matriarchal basis, men passing into their wife's clan on marriage and out of it on her death, leaving the children behind, as among the Coppersmiths. But, if so, it was not consistently carried out, as widowers generally have children with them. The conditions of slavery would inevitably cause breakdowns in such a system, since the man would naturally be the more important in the owner's eyes, and in cases of marriage between slaves belonging to different owners the wife would pass into the man's clan, and apparently when an exchange could not be arranged the children were divided between the two owners.

The groups do not appear to have consisted entirely of persons of the same trade, though one trade generally predominates, goldsmiths in the fourth group, 'weighers' in the third, while the first two are more mixed. Nor were the trades always hereditary, since one man is called a violinist, though his father was apparently both a 'weigher' and a mandoline-player. This again makes one's inferences a little uncertain, as it is often the father's trade which is given, and possibly the son may have been practising another; and in some cases the apparent trade-name may only replace a surname. The trade-names occurring are Ferariu and

[1] On one occasion the name of the Ğiude's father differs in the repetition; but obviously the same person is intended, as in the three other cases.

its Moldavian equivalent Herariu, 'smith,' Kantarağiu 'weigher,' Kobzariu 'mandoline-player,' Skripkariu 'violinist,' Zlatar 'goldsmith,' and Čiurariu 'sieve-maker,' and possibly Ofičariu with the same meaning, and Pădureanu 'forester,' though the two latter appear to be used as Christian names.[1]

The groups differ considerably in size, the first containing 134 members, the third only 63; and the number of children seems surprisingly small in so prolific a people as Gypsies. There are only 86 boys and 84 girls to 94 men and 85 women, but among the latter are counted two children of 16 and 14. As will be seen the male sex predominates, and the first-born is generally a boy. The greatest number of children recorded for any one family is 8; but as married daughters are of course not included, it is impossible to determine the actual size of many families, especially as these people married at an extremely early age. There are four couples who had their first child when the husband was 17 and the wife 15, or in one case 14. Two other girls were mothers at 15 apparently; but presumably in two cases where the mothers appear to have been only 10 and 9 and the fathers 13 and 16, the eldest child recorded was really a brother or sister of one of them. There are, however, instances of what look like late marriages too, as couples of 40 and 37, 37 and 32, and 30 and 27 are only credited with one child each aged 1; but again one cannot be certain, as they may have had other children who had died.

The forenames are with a few exceptions, which are printed in italics, names found commonly among the Rumanians. Curiously enough two or three seem to have been taken from the Jews, with whom they must often have come in contact in Moldavia. Such, for instance, are Sura for Sara, Ribieca for Rebecca, Zalda for Zelda, and possibly Goalda for Golda. Others are rare names which do not occur among the Rumanians, though of Rumanian origin—for example, Kračiun 'Christmas,' Domnika 'lady,' Duduka 'miss,' Vanturaka 'wind,' Butsukan 'club,' are all Rumanian words. Šušoi 'hare,' and perhaps Gule 'sweet,' are presumably Romani words used as names or nicknames.

More curious, however, are the surnames; for none of them can be identified with Rumanian names, though some of them—Duminikă 'Sunday,' for instance—are again Rumanian words.

[1] The surname, if it is a surname, Kalaro, is probably from the Rumanian 'kalar' 'rider,' though it looks a little like a Romani diminutive from *kālo*.

I have not been able to find among the official documents how much the sale of these Gypsies realised. I may add, however, that after the Paris Congress after the Crimean War, when the new constitution was framed in 1864, the Gypsies were fully emancipated and they have since enjoyed all the rights of Rumanian citizenship.

I have transcribed the names exactly as I found them from the old Slavonic type which was still used in official publications, and I have followed the following principles:—

č is used for the Rumanian 'c' when pronounced like the English 'ch.'

ğ is used for the Rumanian 'g' when pronounced like the English 'j.'

gh for the Italian 'gh' before *e* and *i*.

I have preserved, however, the Rumanian 'ă,' for that is a sound peculiar to the Rumanian Gypsy.

The following Rumanian words occur:—

brat, brother; *brat lor*, their brother; *brat lui*, brother of (the person whose name follows).

flakau, unmarried youth.

kasa, house.

sin (*sănn*) = son.

sora lui = sister of him.

văduv, widower; *văduvă*, widow; *văduva*, the widow.

In the headings of each group the word 'family' must be understood, *e.g.*: 'Lui Štefan sin Iordaki Kostaki' means 'The family of Štefan, son of Iordaki Kostaki.' Similarly in several cases where a woman's name is followed by 'lui' and a male name, 'văduvă' 'widow' must be supplied: *e.g.* 'Katrina, lui Ioan Kostaki' means 'Katrina, widow of Ioan Kostaki.'

Here follows now the list of the Gypsies as given in the official publication.

First Group.

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
Lui Štefan sin Iordaki Kostaki.					
1. Ioan Mătrean Duminikă . .	70	1	–	–	–
Barikă	10	–	–	1	–
Zoitsa	12	–	–	–	1
Krihan	4	–	–	1	–

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
2. Nikolaiu sin *Mistrian*	30	1	–	–	–
Litsa	26	–	1	–	–
Iordaki	9	–	–	1	–
Maria	5	–	–	–	1
3. *Talapan* brat Mistrian.					
Dumineka	40	1	–	–	–
Dadaluka	32	–	1	–	–
Zalinka	6	–	–	–	1
Mărioara	9	–	–	–	1
4. Manole sin Talapan	25	1	–	–	–
Ruksandra	20	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	4	–	–	1	–
Ilinka	½	–	–	–	1
5. Iordaki Aurikă	50	1	–	–	–
Armenika	28	–	1	–	–
Anton	7	–	–	1	–
6. Pădurean Ferariu	50	1	–	–	–
Maria	25	–	1	–	–
Vasili	8	–	–	1	–
Gheorghie	4	–	–	1	–
Elesaveta	9	–	–	–	1
Jidluka	13	–	–	–	1
7. Răduka *Kalaro*	50	1	–	–	–
Maria	45	–	1	–	–
Mărioara	25	–	–	–	1
Arifta	15	–	–	–	1
Hoasna	10	–	–	–	1
Katrina	6	–	–	–	1
8. Konstandin Kalaro	50	1	–	–	–
Mărioara	45	–	1	–	–
Ioan	6	–	–	1	–
9. *Goman* brat lor	35	1	–	–	–
Balaša	30	–	1	–	–
Katrina	6	–	–	–	1
Sofiika	8	–	–	–	1
10. Găitan sin Kostea Dumineka Herariul	35	1	–	–	–
Katrina	25	–	1	–	–
Ioan	10	–	–	1	–
Pakitsa	2	–	–	–	1
11. Lazar sin Kostea Herariul	35	1	–	–	–
Sămika	30	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	3	–	–	1	–

		Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
12.	Nekulaiu brat lui Lazar	35	1	–	–	–
	Ioana	29	–	1	–	–
	Nitsă	4	–	–	1	–
	Safta	3	–	–	–	1
13.	Čioban sin Kostandin Ferariul Duminikă	40	1	–	–	–
	Katinka	35	–	1	–	–
	Părăluka	10	–	–	–	1
	Nitsa	5	–	–	–	1
14.	Radukanu săn Sava Dumineką	60	1	–	–	–
	Balaša	50	–	1	–	–
	Dumitraki	21	–	–	1	–
	Aleksandru	15	–	–	1	–
	Kostaki	13	–	–	1	–
	Iordaki	9				
	Elisaveta	8	–	–	–	1
	Kira	6	–	–	–	1
15.	Lazar sin Rădukanu	26	1	–	–	–
	Maria	23	–	1	–	–
16.	Nedul brat lui	23	1	–	–	–
	Maria	19	–	1	–	–
17.	Markidan sin Petrišor	35	1	–	–	–
	Zoitsa	29	–	1	–	–
	Zanka	10	–	–	–	1
	Iordaki	4	–	–	1	–
18.	*Bălălău* sin Vasili Gugulan	28	1	–	–	–
	Zalda	24	–	1	–	–
	Luka	5	–	–	1	–
	Marghiola	2	–	–	–	1
19.	Neagul sin Šarban Dumineką	60	1	–	–	–
	Katrina	50	–	1	–	–
20.	*Vărkă* Skripkariu	48	1	–	–	–
	Ilinka	40	–	1	–	–
	Petraki	18	–	–	1	–
	Zamfiraki	9	–	–	1	–
	Arghira	12	–	–	–	1
21.	Barika brat lui Vărkă	24	1	–	–	–
	Safta	23	–	1	–	–
	Vasilie	3	–	–	–	1
22.	Ioan Kobzariul	40	1	–	–	–
	Marghiola	33	–	1	–	–
	Balaša	13	–	–	–	1

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
23. Ispariu sin Toader Herariul Dumineka	30	1	–	–	–
Maslina	25	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	7	–	–	1	–
Ioan	5	–	–	1	
Duduka	10	–	–	–	1
24. Mihale *Čione* Herariul Kalaro	60	1	–	–	–
Domnika	57	–	1	–	–
Marghiola	13	–	–	–	1
25. Gheorghie sin Mihălaki Čione	30	1	–	–	–
Maritsa	25	–	1	–	–
Vasilikă	5	–	–	1	–
26. Kostaki brat lui	27	1	–	–	–
Katrina	23	–	1	–	–
Ioana	2	–	–	–	1
27. *Vănturaki* sin Čione Kalaro	51	1	–	–	–
Sanda	43	–	1	–	–
Ioan	18	–	–	1	–
Săftika	7	–	–	–	1
28. Mihălaki sin *Buligan* Zlătari	50	1	–	–	–
Ileana	38	–	1	–	–
Vasilie	7	–	–	1	–
Gheorghie	19	–	–	1	–
29. *Onofreiu* sin Mihălaki Zlătari	23	1	–	–	–
Katrina	21	–	1	–	–
Toma	6	–	–	1	–
Katrina	3	–	–	–	1
30. Iordaki sin Talapan Dumineka	24	1	–	–	–
Zalinka	21	–	1	–	–
31. *Bočia* sin Talapan	20	1	–	–	–
Katrina	16	–	1	–	–
32. Ioan Pančiu	23	1	–	–	–
Zoitsa	18	–	1	–	–
33. Pandele sin Kostin Herariu	19	1	–	–	–
Pipiroae	17	–	1	–	–
Barikă	2	–	–	1	–
34. *Potire* sin Kostea Herariul	19	1	–	–	–
Duduka	16	–	1	–	–
35. Pădurean sin Iordaki Kostaki	21	1	–	–	–
Maria	18	–	1	–	–
Ilinka	½	–	–	–	1
36. Kasa lui Pădurean Maria[1]	60	1	–	–	–
Trifan	20	–	–	1	–

[1] 'The house of Pădurean Maria.' This looks like a mistake for 'mother of Pădurean,' the preceding person.

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
37. Štefan sin Iordaki Kostaki					
Ğiudele	45	1	–	–	–
Ilinka	35	–	1	–	–
Anton	14	–	–	1	–
Iordaki	10	–	–	1	–
Ioan	6	–	–	1	–

Second Group.

Mărğian săn Latsku Višan.

1. Iordaki sin Nitsă Herariul	21	1	–	–	–
Tinka	19	–	1	–	–
2. Dumitru sin Kirika Kantarağiu	40	1	–	–	–
Katrina	35	–	1	–	–
Nekolaiu	13	–	–	1	–
Mărinka	10	–	–	–	1
Kostanda	7	–	–	–	1
Vasilie	3	–	–	1	–
3. Ioan brat lui	37	1	–	–	–
Ruksanda	32	–	1	–	–
Vasilie	1	–	–	1	–
4. Stan sin Stankul	30	1	–	–	–
Mărinka	27	–	1	–	–
Vasilie	11	–	–	1	–
Teofana	7	–	–	–	1
Ianku	3	–	–	1	–
Kostaki	½	–	–	1	–
Gheorghie	1	–	–	1	–
5. Gheorghie brat lui Stan sin Stanku	28	1	–	–	–
Zambila	24	–	1	–	–
Nekolaiu	7	–	–	1	–
Katrina	3	–	–	–	1
6. *Ofičăriu* sin Gheorghie Čiurariu	26	1	–	–	–
Mărgărinda	23	–	1	–	–
7. Toader sin Mateiu văduv	45	1	–	–	–
Nekolaiu	8	–	–	1	–
Anikutsa	6	–	–	–	1
8. Ilie brat lui Toader sin Mateiu văduv	30	1	–	–	–
Floarea	10	–	–	–	1
9. Koste brat lui Ilie sin Mateiu	25	1	–	–	–
Goalda	20	–	1	–	–
10. Kostandin brat lui Kostea văduv	30	1	–	–	–
11. Gheorghie brat lui Kostea văduv	28	1	–	–	–

		Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
12.	Stan sin Višan	60	1	–	–	–
	Măriutsa	55	–	1	–	–
	Florea	20	–	–	1	–
	Kostandin	22	–	–	1	–
	Sanda	20	–	–	–	1
13.	Nekulaiu sin Toader Kobzariu	35	1	–	–	–
	Mărioara	28	–	1	–	–
	Măglurian	19	–	–	1	–
	Lăskăraki	18	–	–	1	–
	Katinka	15	–	–	–	1
	Katinka	10	–	–	–	1
14.	Vasilie brat lui Nekulaiu	28	1	–	–	–
	Anitsa	25	–	1	–	–
	Dumitra	1	–	–	–	1
	Kostandin	10	–	–	1	–
	Smarandra	14	–	–	–	1
	Vasilie	15	–	–	1	
15.	Toader Gărniatsă Skripkariu văduv	50	1	–	–	–
	Stan	20	–	–	1	–
	Gheorghie	18	–	–	1	–
	Duduka	16	–	–	–	1
16.	Vasilie sin Toader Gărniatsă văduv	21	1	–	–	–
17.	Nastasia lui Latsku Višan văduvă	40	–	1	–	–
	Nekulaiu	20	–	–	1	–
	Ioan	18	–	–	1	–
	Ianku	14	–	–	1	–
	Soltana	12	–	–	–	1
18.	Gheorghie skripkariu sin Ioan sin Toader Stănikă	35	1	–	–	–
	Katinka	25	–	1	–	–
	Ioan	7	–	–	1	–
19.	Gheorghie sin Ioan Kantarağiu	25	1	–	–	–
	Katinka	20	–	1	–	–
	Vasilie	3	–	–	1	–
20.	Lelitsa lui Nitsă Kantarağiu văduvă	50	–	1	–	–
	Kostaki	20	–	–	1	–
	Kračiun	18	–	–	1	–
21.	Latsku sin Gheorghie Tanasă	20	1	–	–	–
22.	Laskaraki sin Dumitru Višan	20	1	–	–	–
23.	Dumitru sin Stan Kantarağiu	14	1	–	–	–
24.	Stanka văduvă	50	–	1	–	–
	Nekulaiu	19	–	–	1	–
	Floarea	12	–	–	–	1
	Dokitsa	8	–	–	–	1

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
25. Măriutsa văduvă	30	–	1	–	–
Mărioara	14	–	–	–	1
26. Mărioara văduvă	50	–	1	–	–
27. *Mărĭian* sin Latsku Ĭiudile .	30	1	–	–	–
Arifta	20	–	1	–	–
Sušoi	7	–	–	1	–
Sura	5	–	–	–	1
Nikulaiu	1	–	–	1	–

Third Group.

Gheorghe sin Vasilie Kantaraĭiu.

1. Kostandin sin Ioan Kantaraĭiu .	70	1	–	–	–
Ileana	68	–	1	–	–
2. Šărban Kantaraĭiu văduv . .	65	1	–	–	–
Kostandin	23	–	–	1	–
Ioana	14	–	–	–	1
3. Dumitru sin Vasilie Kostandin .	31	1	–	–	–
Lupa	29	–	1	–	–
Nekolaiu	8	–	–	1	–
Sanda	14	–	–	–	1
Katrina	7	–	–	–	1
Anitsa	1	–	–	–	1
4. Vasilie brat lui Dumitru . .	25	1	–	–	–
Bugutsă	22	–	1	–	–
Armanka	7	–	–	–	1
Iftinka	6	–	–	–	1
Ioan	½	–	–	1	–
5. Nekulaiu sin Toader *Kokoiu* .	35	1	–	–	–
Balaša	30	–	1	–	–
Kirieak	12	–	–	1	–
Tanasă	19	–	–	1	–
Rarenko	7	–	–	–	1
Ioan	½	–	–	1	–
6. Paraskiv brat lui Nekulaiu Kokoiu	30	1	–	–	–
Smăranda	25	–	1	–	–
Kostaki	5	–	–	1	–
Katinka	4	–	–	–	1
7. Gheorghie brat lui Paraskiv văduv	25	1	–	–	–
8. Rakovitsă brat lui Gheorghie .	20	1	–	–	–
Maria	18	–	1	–	–
9. Vasilie Skripkariu sin Iordaki Kobzariu Kantaraĭiu văduv.	70	1	–	–	–

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
10. Simioan sin lui	45	1	–	–	–
Măriutsa	40	–	1	–	–
Nekolaiu	15	–	–	1	–
Măriuka	16	–	–	–	1
Dumitru	8	–	–	1	–
Rada	5	–	–	–	1
Domnika	2	–	–	–	1
11. Vasilie sin Vasilie Kantarağiu	40	1	–	–	–
Stoika	37	–	1	–	–
Grigoraš	10	–	–	1	–
12. *Figa* sin Gheorghie *Butsukan*	35	1	–	–	–
Katrina	28	–	1	–	–
Petraki	14	–	–	1	–
Toader	8	–	–	1	–
13. Gheorghie sin Vasilie Skripkariu					
văduv	30	1	–	–	–
Sălağiana	12	–	–	–	1
Katrina	10	–	–	–	1
Nekolaiu	8	–	–	1	–
Ilinka	6	–	–	–	1
Ioan	4	–	–	1	–
14. Nekolaiu sin Vasile Kantarağiu	35	1	–	–	–
Smăranda	32	–	1	–	–
Nekolaiu	5	–	–	1	–
Kasandra	12	–	–	–	1
15. Brăileanka văduva	25	–	1	–	–
16. Maria văduvă a lui Ianku	27	–	1	–	–
Mărioară	5	–	–	–	1
17. *Bubulan* flăkău	18	1	–	–	–
Maria sora lui	14	–	1	–	–
18. Gregorie sin Stan Kantarağiu					
văduv	30	1	–	–	–
19. Gheorghie *Butsuran*	18	1	–	–	–
20. Gheorghie sin Vasile Kantarağiu					
Ğiudele	45	1	–	–	–
Katinka	40	–	1	–	–
Ilinka	12	–	–	–	1
Domnika	10	–	–	–	1
Maria	4	–	–	–	1

Fourth Group.

Gheorghie a Bratului sin Zlatariul.

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
1. Pădurean sin *Nogulan* Duminikă	30	1	–	–	–
Katrina	27	–	1	–	–
Ioan	13	–	–	1	–
Iordaki	10	–	–	1	–
Smaranda	6	–	–	–	1
Katinka	3	–	–	–	1
2. Šărbănikă sin Šărban Duminikă	48	1	–	–	–
Maria	45	–	1	–	–
3. Katrina lui Ioan Kostaki	30	–	1	–	–
Zambila	8	–	–	–	1
4. Rădukan sin Gavril Gane	40	1	–	–	–
Tudosia	37	–	1	–	–
Katrina	1	–	–	–	1
5. *Asanaki* sin Gavril Gane	37	1	–	–	–
Anitsa	34	–	1	–	–
Ioan	5	–	–	1	–
Smaranda	14	–	–	–	1
Soltana	8	–	–	–	1
6. Toader sin *Gule* Gane	28	1	–	–	–
Kasandra	25	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	7	–	–	1	–
Arghira	8	–	–	–	1
Katrina	4	–	–	–	1
Măriuka	1	–	–	–	1
7. Katinka lui Iordaki	31	–	1	–	–
Smaranda	15	–	–	–	1
Arifta	6	–	–	–	1
Kasandra	3	–	–	–	1
8. Mărgian sin Ioan Kostaki Duminekă	26	1	–	–	–
Zalintsa	24	–	1	–	–
Marghioala	7	–	–	–	1
Maritsa	6	–	–	–	1
Nekolai	3	–	–	1	–
9. Mihai sin Petre Zlătari	36	1	–	–	–
Zalintsa	31	–	1	–	–
Katrina	7	–	–	–	1
Zoitsa	1	–	–	–	1
10. Kămpianu sin Neagu *Bămkă*	27	1	–	–	–
Teodosia	21	–	1	–	–
11. Vasili sin Mihai Zlătariul	22	1	–	–	–
Katinka	20	–	1	–	–

	Age	Male	Female	Boy	Girl
12. Gavrilitsă sin *Gule* văduv . .	30	1	–	–	–
13. Iordaki sin Vasili *Gugulan* .	29	1	–	–	–
Marghioala	27	–	1	–	–
Nekolai	9	–	–	1	–
14. Manoli sin Petru Zlătariu . .	30	1	–	–	–
Katinka	27	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	1	–	–	1	–
15. Vasilie sin *Šokă* Herariu văduv .	32	1	–	–	–
Kostaki	5	–	–	1	–
16. Lazăr sin Toader Pukti Kostaki .	28	1	–	–	–
Smaranda	23	–	1	–	–
17. Vintilă sin Roman văduv . .	26	1	–	–	–
18. Maria lui Mateiu Gane . .	60	–	1	–	–
Gheorghie	20	–	–	1	–
19. Maria lui Neagu *Bălinkă* . .	70	–	1	–	–
Vasilie	15	–	–	1	–
Păduraki	13	–	–	1	–
Frašaki	4	–	–	1	–
Anika	5	–	–	–	1
20. Gheorghie Bratul sin Zlătariul Ğiudele	35	1	–	–	–
Katrina	31	–	1	–	–
A. . . . ašă (*illegible*) . . .	12	–	–	1	–
Smaranda	13	–	–	–	1
Nekolai	5	–	–	1	–
Ianku	3	–	–	1	–
Ribiaka	4	–	–	–	1
Kostaki	1	–	–	1	–

IV.—CONSORTING WITH AND COUNTERFEITING EGYPTIANS

By T. W. Thompson

IN the Editor's 'Early British Gypsies' documents are quoted from the *Acts of the Privy Council of England* which record the arrest in Berkshire in 1576-7 of eighty Gypsies with a passport forged by a Cheshire schoolmaster; the release of all save 'tenne of the chefest,' to proceed against whom a Commission of Oyer and Determiner is granted; the apprehension in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire shortly afterwards of 'certen roges namyng themselfes Egiptians' belonging to the same band, of whom Phelipp Bastien, Rowland Gabriell, Lawrence Banister and John

Bailif are ordered to be sent into Berkshire for trial with those of their company detained there; a reversal of this order on discovery being made that they must be tried by the inhabitants of the place where they were taken, and a request to the Lord Keeper to send a Commission of Oyer and Determiner to the High Sheriff and Justices of Buckinghamshire that the 'rogues' lately arrested in that county may be proceeded against.[1] Crofton, quoting from *The Annals of England*, has stated that Rowland Gabriel, Katherine Deago, and six others were tried at Aylesbury on April 18, 1577, and were found guilty and hanged.[2] Now, owing to a reference in W. G. Bell's *Unknown London*,[3] the original source of information about this Aylesbury trial has come to light, and as it names the 'six others,' and is of special interest besides, it is given in full below.

Fourth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1843), in an Appendix containing 'The second part of the Inventory and Calendar of the Contents of the Baga de Secretis,' pp. 271-2:—

Pouch XLIV.

Pouch entitled, 'Baga Sessionis tent. apud Aylesbury, in Com. Buck. die Jovis decimo octavo die Aprilis, anno XIX Elizabeth, coram Johanne Goodwin, Milite &c.': *containing a file of* 11 *membranes, in good preservation.*

Trial and Conviction of Rowland Gabriel *and others.—Felony.—Keeping company with Egyptians.—Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer.* 18 *April,* 19 *Elizabeth,* 1577.

(M. 1.) 29 *March,* 19 *Elizabeth. Bucks.*—Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, addressed to Arthur Lord Gray de Wilton; Robert Drury, Knight; Edmund Ashefeild, Knight; George Peckham, Knight; John Goodwin, Knight; Robert Doylie, Knight; Miles Sandes, Nicholas West, John Chenye 'de Chesham Boyse,' Michael Blunt, and John Crooke, Esquires, or any four of them; the said Lord Gray de Wilton, Sir Robert Drury, Sir Edmund Ashefeild, Sir George Peckham, Sir John Goodwin,

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii. 13-16.
[2] *Ibid.*, O.S., i. 18.
[3] 2nd ed. (London, 1920), p. 167.

Sir Robert Doylie, and Miles Sandes, being of the Quorum. Great Seal appended.

(Ms. 2 and 3.) 9 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks*.—The Justices' Precept for the return of the Grand Jury at Aylesbury, on *Thursday*, 18 *April* instant. Signed by John Goodwin, Robert Doylie, John Cheynye, Myles Sandes, John Croke, and Nicholas West, and panel annexed. One perfect Seal, and marks of others remaining.

(Ms. 4 and 5.) *Thursday*, 18 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks*.—Indictment found at Aylesbury, against *Rowland Gabriel*, *Laurence Bannester*, *Thomas Gabriel*, and *Christopher Jackson*, all late of Medmenham in the county of Bucks, Yeomen; and being of the age of 14 years and upwards, for that they for one month and upwards, viz., from the 1 *February*, 19 *Elizabeth*, until the 17 *March then next*, at Medmenham, and in other parts of the said county did feloniously keep company with *Richard Jackson*, *William Gabriel*, *George Jackson*, and *Katherine Deago*, Widow, and other vagabonds, to the amount of sixteen and upwards, vulgarly called and calling themselves Egyptians, and counterfeiting, transforming, and altering themselves in dress, language, and behaviour to such vagabonds called Egyptians, contrary to the statute.

(M. 6.) *Thursday*, 18 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks*.—Another Indictment against the said *Richard Jackson*, *William Gabriel*, *George Jackson*, and *Katherine Deago*, for keeping company for the space of one month and upwards with the persons named in the first Indictment, being gypsies, &c.

(M. 7.) *Thursday*, 18 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks*.—The Justices' Precept, addressed to the Sheriff of Bucks, commanding him to bring up the bodies of the said *Rowland Gabriel*, and other the culprits named in the before-mentioned Indictments, before them at Aylesbury. It appears by the return, that the culprits had been committed by order of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal; Edward Earl of Lincoln, Francis Earl of Bedford, and others of the Privy Council.

(Ms. 8 and 9.) *Same Date*. *Bucks*.—Precept to the Sheriffs for the return of the Petty Jury for the trial of the prisoners, and panel annexed.

(Ms. 10 and 11.) 18 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks*.—Record of Sessions held at Aylesbury before the said Justices, setting forth:—

29 *March*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks.*—Special commission of Oyer and Terminer.

9 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks.*—Precept to the Sheriff for the return of the Grand Jury.

Thursday, 18 *April*, 19 *Elizabeth*. *Bucks.*—Indictments found as before set forth.

The said *Rowland Gabriel*, *Laurence Bannester*, *Thomas Gabriel*, *Christopher Jackson*, *Richard Jackson*, *William Gabriel*, *George Jackson*, and *Katherine Deago* are brought to the bar, and being severally arraigned, plead Not Guilty.

Venire awarded instanter.

Verdict, GUILTY.

Judgment, That they are to be hanged.

Record brought into Court by Miles Sandes, Esquire, on *Saturday next after the Holy Trinity*, 19 *Elizabeth*.

All the records mentioned in connection with this Berks.-Bucks.-Oxon. company of persons 'namyng themselfes Egiptians' refer to the same year—1577 according to our present mode of reckoning—and as the Privy Council ordered the transference of Rowland Gabriell and Lawrence Banister to Berkshire for trial in a letter dated March 17, they (and others) presumably were arrested at an earlier date, and so cannot very well have been consorting with Gypsies up to the seventeenth as is stated in the amplification of the charge brought against them, unless forcible detention in gaol with Gypsies is counted a criminal offence!

Of greater moment is the curious nature of the indictments themselves, based as they are on the main clause of the Statute of 5 Elizabeth, which decreed that any person fourteen years of age and upwards, whether natural born subject or stranger, who for a month at one or at several times was 'seen or found . . . in any Company or Fellowship of Vagabonds, commonly called or calling themselves *Egyptians*,' should as a felon suffer death and loss of lands and goods without the benefits of a jury *medietatis linguæ*, sanctuary, or 'clergy.' For if, as is stated initially, the first batch of prisoners were yeomen of Medmenham, then in the second indictment Gypsies were accused of keeping company with yeomen; whereas if the Rowland Gabriel party were Gypsies, as the 'being gypsies' of the second indictment conceivably asserts, then in both cases Gypsies were accused of consorting with Gypsies, or (more correctly) persons legally defined as such.

The first possibility—that Rowland Gabriel and those accused with him were yeomen of Medmenham—may be dismissed, I think. The Bishop's Transcripts of the Medmenham Registers in the Bodleian Library are far from complete, covering only the years 1571-74, 1600, 1605-40 (with one or two small gaps), 1646. 1673, 1703, and 1705-1812, yet sufficiently extensive to yield good evidence; and the Editor, who has kindly examined them, reports that neither Gabriel nor Jackson (nor Deago) occurs at all, and that Bannister, not an uncommon name in the county, does not appear until 1709 when Thomas and Ann Bannister began having children baptized there, and disappears again *circa* 1770 on the death of the last of their children. Further, the two Gabriels and Jackson of the first party—the alleged yeomen—bore the same surnames as three of the Gypsies with whom they are accused of consorting. Jackson has not previously been noticed as a Gypsy name, though Jaks occurs in Scottish Gypsy annals as early as 1527[1]; but a Thomas Grabriells was among a large party of Gypsies arrested in 1559.[2] As for Bannister, there was a Margaret Bannister, daughter of William Bannister, 'going after the manner of roguish Ægyptians,' baptized at Loughborough in 1581,[3] and Bannisters on the roads until the middle of the eighteenth century, if not later.[4]

To all appearance, then, two parties of Gypsies belonging to

[1] MacRitchie: *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts* (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 32. Of Jackson itself, however, there is some evidence as a name of 'vagrants':—'Ales Jackson d. Ed. a wanderer,' bapt. Oct. 26, 1611 (R. Ussher, *The Parish Registers of Swanbourne, Co. Bucks.*, p. 17): 'Margaret Jackson, a vagrant,' buried at Wolstanton, Apr. 5, 1702 (*Wolstanton Parish Register*, Staffs. Parish Reg. Soc., 1914, pt. I. p. 199): 'Johannes Jackson, a travelor,' buried at Deane, Lancs., Nov. 18, 1719 (A. Sparke, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Deane*, vol. i. pt. II. p. 518): 'John Jackson a Vagrant,' buried at Lancaster, Nov. 28, 1729 (A. Brierley, *The Registers of the Parish Church of Lancaster*, vol. ii. p. 200): and 'William son of Robert and Jane Jackson (Travellers),' baptized at Ingham, Lincs.—a reference for which I am indebted to the incumbent, who sent it to our late member, the Rev. G. Hall.

[2] *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 16. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 19.

[4] Compare the following entries taken from parish registers:—'Charles s. to Simon Bevister, a traueler brought a bed at Dennis, of R.,' baptized at Putney, Apr. 13, 1679 (Hare and Bannerman, *The Parish Register of Putney*, vol. i., Croydon, 1913, p. 66), where the 'v' is probably a mistake for 'n': 'Nathan, s. of Nathan Bannister and Mary, an alien,' baptized at Battlefield, Shropshire, Apr. 16, 1738 (*The Registers of Battlefield*, Parish Reg. Soc., xix., London, 1899, p. 18): 'Banister—William son of James and Elizabeth, a couple of Vagrants,' baptized at Wendlebury, Oxon., Aug. 7, 1748: and possibly Maria Banister, who married Edward Boswell, 'chimney sweep,' but certainly a traveller as is proved by baptismal entries of his children, at Banbury, July 27, 1778, belonged to this travelling family, though there is no hint of it in the marriage entry.

the same band were prosecuted under the Statute of 5 Elizabeth for being in each other's company. Very probably the final words of the second indictment may be taken to mean that the persons arraigned with Katherine Deago were also charged with being Gypsies. Whether this is so or not, it is hard to see why all the prisoners were not accused together of having been seen or found in a 'Company or Fellowship of Vagabonds, commonly called or calling themselves *Egyptians*,' which would have been no more difficult to prove than the several indictments were. Difference in race, or country of birth—if there was any—was immaterial from the legal point of view at this date, for the chief object of the Statute of 5 Elizabeth had been to remove 'a Scruple and Doubt risen, whether such Persons as being born within this Realm of *England*, or other the Queen's Highness Dominions, and are or shall become of the Fellowship or Company of the said Vagabonds, by transforming or disguising themselves in their Apparel, or in a certain counterfeit Speech or Behaviour, are punishable by the said Act [1 and 2 Philip and Mary] in like Manner as others of that Sort are, being Strangers born and transported into this Realm of *England*.' Quite possibly Rowland Gabriel, Laurence Bannester, and those arrested with them some time prior to March 17th, had already been before the magistrates, and had then advanced the futile plea that they were no Egyptians but yeomen of Medmenham; yet even so there is no apparent reason why they should not have been lumped with their associates when indicted at Aylesbury. Less than two years later a Commission was sent into Radnorshire to try a large number of 'vagrant personnes, terming themselfes Egiptiens, who according to the Statute of the Vth yeare of her Majesties raigne are to be arraigned as fellons,'[1] and it would be interesting to know whether the same curious method of indictment was followed in this case.

As has been pointed out, the Statute of 5 Elizabeth made it possible to proceed against any person whatsoever as an Egyptian, if he frequented their society and behaved like them. But it may be doubted whether the mere passing of this Act is in itself certain proof that Englishmen were in the habit of masquerading as Gypsies. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign there must have been many genuine Gypsies in England who were born there, and many more willing to swear that they were if any

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii. 16.

advantage was to be gained thereby; and it is at least permissible to suppose that the new Act was mainly, if not entirely, intended to facilitate the prosecution of such persons, by ruling out the plea that they were, technically, Englishmen. How poor an instrument the Statute of 1 and 2 Philip and Mary might prove to be in application was shown at Dorchester in 1559, when a large band of Gypsies—almost certainly the one that included Thomas Grabriells—who were charged in accordance with it, secured their acquittal on the ground that they had not been 'transported and conveyed into this Realm of *England*,' but 'cam out of Scotland . . . by Carlysle w^{ch} ys all by land.'[1] And if Gypsies were clever enough to escape punishment by putting up a defence of this sort, it is not very rash to assume that they also attempted to outwit the law by claiming they were English born —whether they were or not. How far either plea was legally sound before the Statute of 5 Elizabeth was passed was for magistrates to determine, and they do not seem to have known exactly what were the implications of a rather ambiguously worded Act.

Appended are the full texts of the laws relating to Egyptians placed on the English statute book. They have not previously appeared in the *Journal*, and may be useful to members interested in the history of the Gypsies.

THE STATUTES AT LARGE (Lond. 1786).

Vol. 2, p. 146. Anno vicesimo secundo HENRICI VIII. A.D. 1530. Cap. x. An Act concerning outlandish People, calling themselves *Egyptians*.

'Forasmuch as before this Time divers and many outlandish People calling themselves *Egyptians*, using no Craft nor Feat of Merchandise, have come into this Realm, and gone from Shire to Shire, and Place to Place in great Company, and used great, subtil, and crafty Means to deceive the People, bearing them in Hand, that they by Palmestry could tell Mens and Womens Fortunes, and so many Times by Craft and Subtilty have deceived the People of their Money, and also have committed many heinous Felonies and Robberies, to the great Hurt and Deceit of the People that they have come among':

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 15-16. There seems to be little doubt about the identity of the Gypsies prosecuted at Dorchester on September 5, 1559, and those arrested in Gloucestershire on October 26 of the same year.

II. Be it therefore by the King our Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, ordained, established, and enacted, That from henceforth no such Person be suffered to come within this the King's Realm; and if they do, then they and every of them so doing, shall forfeit to the King our Sovereign Lord all their Goods and Chattles, and then to be commanded to avoid the Realm within Fifteen Days next after the Commandment, upon Pain of Imprisonment; and it shall be lawful to every Sheriff, Justice of Peace, and Escheator, to seize to the Use of our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, all such Goods as they or any of them shall have, and thereof to make Account to our said Sovereign Lord in his Exchequer; and if it shall happen any such Stranger hereafter to commit within this Realm any Murder, Robbery, or any other Felony, and thereof be indicted, and arraigned, and to plead not guilty, or any other Plea triable by the Country, that then the Inquest that shall pass between the King and any such Party, shall be altogether of *Englishmen*, albeit that the Party so indicted pray *Medietatem Linguæ*, according to the Statute of *Anno* 8 HENRICI VI. or any other Statute thereof made.

III. Provided alway, That the *Egyptians* now being in this Realm, have Monition to depart within Sixteen Days after Proclamation of this Statute among them shall be made, upon Pain of Imprisonment, and Forfeiture of their Goods and Chattles; and if they then so depart, that then they shall not forfeit their Goods nor any Part thereof, this present Statute notwithstanding.

IV. Provided alway, That every such Person or Persons, which can prove by Two credible Persons, before the same Party that seized such Money, Goods, or Chattles, of the same *Egyptians*, that any Part of the same Goods, Money, or Chattles, were craftily or feloniously taken or stolen from him, shall be incontinent restored unto the same Goods, Money, or Chattles, whereof he maketh such Proof before the same Party, that so seized the same Money, Goods, or Chattles, upon Pain to forfeit to the same Party, that maketh such Proof, the double Value of the same by Action of Debt, Bill, or otherwise, in any of the King's Courts to be sued, upon which Action and Suit he shall not be admitted to wage his Law, nor any Protection or Essoign to be allowed; any Thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any

Justice of Peace, Sheriff or Escheator, which by Authority of this Act, have Power to take or seize any Goods or Chattles of any *Egyptians*, at any Time hereafter do seize, or take the Goods or Chattles of any such *Egyptians*, that then every such Justice, Sheriff, or Escheator, doing the same, shall have, keep, and retain to his own Use, the Moiety of all such Goods so by him seized; and of the other Moiety so by him taken or seized, shall make Answer and Account to the King in his Exchequer, according to the Tenour of this present Act; any Thing in the same Act contained to the contrary hereof notwithstanding: And that upon any Account hereafter to be made for the said other Moiety of the same Goods, the Accountant shall pay no Manner of Fees or other Charges, for his Account or Discharge to be had in the King's Exchequer, nor elsewhere.

Pp. 465-6. Anno primo & secundo PHILIPPI & MARIÆ. A.D. 1554. Cap. IV. An Act against certain Persons calling themselves *Egyptians*.

'Where in a Parliament holden at *Westminster* in the xxij. Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, (for the Avoiding and Banishing out of this Realm of certain outlandish People calling themselves *Egyptians*, using no Craft nor Feat of Merchandises for to live by, but going from Place to Place in great Companies, using great, subtil and crafty Means to deceive the King's Subjects, bearing them in Hand, that they by Palmistry could tell Mens and Womens Fortunes, and so many Times by Craft and Subtilty deceive the People of their Money, and committed divers great and heinous Felonies and Robberies, to the great Hurt and Deceit of the People;) it was amongst other Things then enacted, That from the Time of the making of the said Act no such Persons should be suffered to come within this the King's Realm, upon Pain of Forfeiture to the King of all their Goods and Chattels, and then to be commanded to avoid the Realm within fifteen Days next after the Commandment, upon Pain of Imprisonment; and such Persons calling themselves *Egyptians*, as were then within this Realm, should depart within sixteen Days next after Proclamation of the said Act, upon Pain of Imprisonment, and Forfeiture of all their Goods and Chattels, with divers other Clauses and Articles contained in the said Act, as by the said Act more at large it

appeareth: Forasmuch as divers of the said Company, and such other like Persons, not fearing the Penalty of the said Statute, have enterprised to come over again into this Realm, using their old-accustomed devilish and naughty Practices and Devices, with such abominable Living as is not in any Christian Realm to be permitted, named or known, and be not duly punished for the same, to the perilous and evil Example of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen's Majesties most loving Subjects, and to the utter and extreme Undoing of divers and many of them, as evidently doth appear':

II. For Reformation whereof, be it ordained and enacted by the King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if any Person or Persons after the last Day of *January* next coming do willingly transport, bring or convey into this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, any such Persons calling themselves, or commonly called, *Egyptians*, that then he or they so transporting, bringing or conveying in any such Persons, contrary to the true Meaning of this Act, shall forfeit and lose for every Time so offending, forty Pounds of lawful Money of *England*.

III. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any of the said Persons called *Egyptians*, which shall be transported and conveyed into this Realm of *England* or *Wales* as is aforesaid, do continue and remain within the same by the Space of one Month, that then he or they so offending shall by Virtue of this Act be deemed and judged a Felon and Felons, and shall therefore suffer Pains of Death, Loss of Lands and Goods, as in Cases of Felony, by the Order of the Common Law of this Realm, and shall upon the Trial of them or any of them therein so tried in the County, and by the Inhabitants of the County or Place, where they or he shall be apprehended or taken, and not *per medietatem linguæ*, and shall lose the Benefit and Privilege of Sanctuary and Clergy.

IV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the *Egyptians*, or other Persons commonly calling themselves *Egyptians*, and every of them, now being within this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, do not depart out of the same within xx. Days next after Proclamation of this present Act shall be made, that then he or they which shall not depart within the said Time, according to the true Meaning of this Act, shall forfeit and

lose all his and their Goods and Chattels, and that then it shall be lawful to all and every the King's and Queen's Subjects to seise the same; the one Moiety thereof to be to the Use of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and the other Moiety thereof to be to the Use of him or them that shall so seise the same.

V. And be it also enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the *Egyptians*, and other Persons commonly called *Egyptians*, and every of them, now being within this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, do not depart out and from the same within XL. Days next after Proclamation shall be made of this Act, that then he or they which shall not depart and avoid within the said Time of XL. Days, according to the true Meaning of this Act, shall be judged and deemed, according to the Laws of this Realm of *England*, a Felon and Felons, and shall suffer therefore Pains of Death, Loss of Lands and Goods, as in other Cases of Felony, and shall be tried as is aforesaid, and without having any Benefit or Privilege of Sanctuary or Clergy.

VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That if any Person after the first Day of *January* next coming shall sue for the obtaining of any Licence, Letter or Pasport, for any of the said Persons called *Egyptians* to abide or continue within this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, contrary to the Tenor of this Act, that then every such Person so suing shall forfeit and lose for the same XL. li. of lawful Money of *England*; And that every such Licence, Letter and Pasport, shall be by Virtue of this Act void to all Intents and Purposes; the one Moiety of all which Sums of Money, to be forfeited as is aforesaid, shall be to the King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, and the other Moiety thereof to be to him or them that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information, wherein no Essoin, Wager of Law nor Protection shall be admitted and allowed.

VII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this present Act, nor any Thing therein contained, shall not extend or be hurtful to any of the said Persons commonly called *Egyptians*, which within the said Time of XX. Days next after the said Proclamation to be made as is aforesaid, shall leave that naughty, idle and ungodly Life and Company, and be placed in the Service of some honest and able Inhabitant or Inhabitants within this Realm, or that shall honestly exercise

himself in some lawful Work or Occupation, but that he or they so continuing in Service, or other lawful Work or Occupation, shall (during such time as he or they shall so continue) be discharged of all Pains and Forfeitures contained in this Act.

VIII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall not in any wise extend to any Child or Children, being not above the Age of thirteen Years, nor to any of the said Persons being now in Prison, so that he or they so being in Prison do depart out of this Realm within fourteen Days next after his or their Delivery out of Prison; nor shall extend to charge any manner of Person or Persons as accessary to any Offence or Offences contained or specified in this Statute.

P. 549. Anno quinto Reginæ ELIZABETHÆ. A.D. 1562.

Cap. XX. An Act for further Punishment of Vagabonds, calling themselves *Egyptians*.

'Whereas sithence the Act made in the first and second Years of the late King and Queen, King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, for the Punishment of that false and subtil Company of Vagabonds calling themselves *Egyptians*, there is a Scruple and Doubt risen, whether such Persons as being born within this Realm of *England*, or other the Queen's Highness Dominions, and are or shall become of the Fellowship or Company of the said Vagabonds, by transforming or disguising themselves in their Apparel, or in a certain counterfeit Speech or Behaviour, are punishable by the said Act in like Manner as others of that Sort are, being Strangers born and transported into this Realm of *England*':

II. Therefore for the avoiding of all Doubts and Ambiguities in that Behalf, and to the Intent that all such sturdy and false Vagabonds of that Sort, living only upon the Spoil of the simple People may be condignly met withal and punished, Be it enacted by the Queen our Sovereign Lady, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That the said Statute made in the first and second Years of the said late King and Queen concerning those Vagabonds calling themselves *Egyptians*, shall continue, remain and be in full Force, Strength and Effect.

III. And yet moreover, be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Person and Persons, which from and after the first Day of *May* now next ensuing shall be seen or found

within this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, in any Company or Fellowship of Vagabonds, commonly called or calling themselves *Egyptians*, or counterfeiting, transforming or disguising themselves by their Apparel, Speech or other Behaviour, like unto such Vagabonds, commonly called, or calling themselves *Egyptians*, and so shall or do continue and remain in the same, either at one Time or at several Times, by the Space of one Month: That then the said Person or Persons shall by Virtue of this Act be deemed and judged a Felon and Felons; and shall therefore suffer Pains of Death, Loss of Lands and Goods, as in Cases of Felony by the Order of the Common Laws of this Realm; and shall upon the Trial of them or any of them therein, be tried in the County and by the Inhabitants of the County or Place where they or he shall be apprehended or taken, and not *per medietatem linguæ*; and shall lose the Privilege and Benefit of Sanctuary and Clergy.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall not in any wise extend to any Child or Children being within the Age of fourteen Years, nor to any of the said Persons being in Prison the last Day of this present Parliament; so that he or they so being in Prison, do within fourteen Days next after his or their Delivery out of Prison, either depart out of this Realm of *England* and *Wales*, or put him or themselves to some honest Service, or exercise some lawful Work, Trade or Occupation, and utterly forsake the said idle and false Trade, Conversation and Behaviour of the said counterfeit and disguised Vagabonds, commonly called or calling themselves *Egyptians*.

V. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Act made in the first and second Years of the said late King and Queen, shall not extend to compel any Person or Persons born within any of the Queen's Majesty's Dominions, to depart out of this Realm of *England* or *Wales*, but only to constrain and bind them and every of them to leave their said naughty, idle and ungodly Life and Company, and to place themselves in some honest Service, or to exercise themselves at home with their Parents, or elsewhere, honestly in some lawful Work, Trade or Occupation; any Thing mentioned in the said former Act to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

REVIEW

Nights and Days on the Gypsy Trail. By IRVING BROWN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.

AFTER an introductory chapter on 'The Fascination of the Gypsy,' in which he shows himself to be a great lover of the race, and familiar with several branches of it, Dr. Irving Brown in *Nights and Days* describes his experiences among the Gitanos of the Spanish towns. Barcelona is the starting-point of his itinerary. There he mingled as one of the 'breed*ipen*'—following a habit found desirable, and even necessary, in his native America—with poor mule-clippers and basket-makers, and with the singers and dancers of a night café for 'spoiling' wealthy señoritos kept by a *Caló*. From Barcelona he took train to Cadiz, where he enjoyed the friendship of a Gitano who eight years earlier in Seville had drawn his knife against him, and demanded his money; and thence to Jerez, and the companionship of a pleasing scoundrel who one day suddenly halted him in the street to know what crime he had committed, so that he might the better protect them both against the *χundanare*. After Jerez came Seville, Triana, Coria, and Cordova, and a feast—almost a surfeit—of singing, and dancing, and wine. An interlude in Tangier follows; then the Gypsy trail is picked up again at Malaga, with two delightful boy boot-blacks, and a dancer of international repute—one Matías—as guides and host. It leads on to Antequera fair, and the staging of Gypsy grand opera—La Niña de los Peines was singing there; and so to Granada, where the baile flamenco is better and wilder than elsewhere, and the goal the Gypsies' hotel. After Granada comes Gaudix, and the remarkable story of 'Chato Doble's' defiance of the law, and evasion of its officers; his infatuation for his niece, Dolores—a hateful thing in Gitano eyes—and consequent betrayal by one of his own people to the civil guards. Then, in conclusion (except for a brief farewell), there is a welcome account of Gypsies in the bull-ring, and particularly of Joselito, or Gallito, acknowledged to be the greatest matador of modern times, though he was barely twenty-five when gored to death at Talavera in 1920.

Dr. Irving Brown's passion for all that Gypsydom means to the Romani Rai, his warm-hearted humanity, his zest for life stripped of conventions and insincerities, are his most striking

qualities. But only less conspicuous than these is his keen sense of colour and form, movement and rhythm, giving, as it does, vividness, beauty, and verve to his best scenes, and charm to his occasional renderings of Gypsy coplas. As yet, however, his perception of things is in advance of his mastery of words and material, with the result that his narrative flags in places, and even becomes quite formless. Hasty composition may be partly responsible, but more fundamental is a noticeable failure in the earlier Andalusian chapters to select, condense, and re-organise the material available, and to reject experiences that, probably satisfying at the time, bring no real, artistic satisfaction in retrospect. I am inclined to think, too, that Dr. Brown relies excessively on impressionism. A nice particularity is, in itself, a great virtue in a descriptive writer, for not only does it add body and variety to his pictures, without in any way blurring their clear outlines, or dimming their vivid colours, but it also sustains the intellectual curiosity of the reader, both whetting and satisfying his appetite for knowledge; whereas pure impressionism, whilst appealing to the senses and feelings, leaves the mind idle.

In their general behaviour Dr. Irving Brown's Gitanos are 'as Gypsy as the ribs of God'—to use their own phrase. We see too little of them 'off the stage,' however, and then, from long habit perhaps, they cling to something of their public manner, and no real intimacy results. I would not blame the author, whose time and opportunities were limited, but I think he might well have sacrificed some of his singers and dancers, and given us fuller studies of those most worth it, and a closer view of some of his promising chance acquaintances. Two portraits are more fully developed, though largely at second hand—Joselito and 'Chato Doble'—and both are good. But above these, and all others, I should put the boy boot-blacks of Malaga, who are perfectly natural, irresistibly alive, and infinitely charming—and as Gypsy as the ribs of Pharaoh himself. T. W. THOMPSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES

6.—MASURÓ, MŬSSÓOR

It is interesting to learn from Dr. Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 98 footnote) that this word occurs in Welsh Romani. Beside the forms from Liebich, Norwood, and in the Catalonian dialect we have a variant in Spanish Romani. In a *Diccionario de Argot Español*, without title-page or date, published by José

Gallach in a series named *Manuales-Gallach*, formerly known as *Biblioteca Manuales-Soler*, apparently issued in Barcelona, and numbered 65, I find the Spanish word *pared* (wall) translated *musu* in Romani. This may easily be overlooked, as it occurs only in the second part, Spanish-Argot. In the first part, Argot-Spanish, we have *umu* ascribed to Romani and translated *pared; muro.* This last is the form given by Jimenez in *Vocabulario del Dialecto Jitano*, segunda edicion, Sevilla, 1853, and may have no connection with *musu.*

7 *Dec.* 1922. FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

7.—'NAIS'

In discussing the origin of this word with local Varna Greeks, the latter have told me that it is unnecessary to suppose the continued existence in this word of an old Byzantine verb '*ὑγιείω*,' as I did in the concluding paragraph of my article on the Gypsy Dialects of North-East Bulgaria. The modern expression, in constant use among the Greek-speaking population of Eastern Bulgaria, is '*na ise ijis*,' which in rapid speech is heard as '*naisjis*,' which very naturally became simply '*nais*' in the mouths of Gypsies who could no longer speak Greek. As already pointed out, the expression corresponds exactly to the Bulgarian '*da si zdrav*,' or the Turkish '*sagh olsun*,' used in toasts, and has its counterpart in all Balkan languages. These stereotyped Greek forms are not uncommon in other Balkan languages, besides Romani. The Bulgarians of many parts of the country, where Greek is no longer heard, use the word '*spolaiti*' in the sense of both 'thank you' and 'good luck to you.' But only in parts where Greek is still spoken is it recognised as being the Modern Greek ''*spola-eti*,' ''*σ πολλὰ ἔτη*,' *i.e.* 'for many years' (scil. may you live), having of course its counterpart in all Balkan languages: Romani '*bute beršenge*,' Roumanian '*la multĭ anĭ*,' Bulgarian '*za mnogo godini*,' Albanian '*per šume mot.*'

B. GILLIAT-SMITH.

8.—ORIGIN OF THE TERM 'CAÑÍ' IN SPANISH GYPSY

When I first saw the term '*cañí*' in *La Horda* by Blasco Ibañez, I was inclined to think it was a word of non-Gypsy origin; but finding that the Gitanos themselves frequently use it as a synonym for 'Gypsy girl,' it occurred to me that it was simply the slang term for girl, so common to various peoples: America—'chicken'; France—'poule'; Spain—'polla,' etc.

Cañí or *cañai* is the word for chicken or hen in *caló.* American-Romani—*kani*; Slavic-Romani—*cáini*; Turkish-Romani—*kagní.*

IRVING BROWN.

9.—A RUSSIAN GYPSY RENEGADE

In 1696 Azov was captured by the Russians from the Turks. 'Nach zweymonatlicher Belagerung ergab sich Assow gegen freyen Abzug, den übergelaufenen Zigeuner Jacob ausgenommen, welcher ausgeliefert werden musste. Dieser wurde zu Moskau von den Henkern, mit dem Halbmond auf der Brust, auf einem Wagen, welchen statt des Wagenhimmels hoher Galgen überschattete, dem Triumpheinzuge des Czars nachgeschleppt, und als Verräther am Glauben und Czar hingerichtet.' Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1830), vi. pp. 625-6.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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CONTENTS

THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. II YEAR 1923 No. 3

I.—THE GYPSY'S SONG TO THE LADY CASSILIS

THE door is open to the wall,
The air is bright and free;
Adown the stair, across the hall,
And then—the world and me;
The bare grey bent, the running stream,
The fire beside the shore;
And we will bid the hearth farewell,
And never seek it more,
My love,
And never seek it more.

O KÂLO PIRANO PE RÂNIÁKI

Piró piró 'chel to hudár,
Gudlí baval akái;
Talé o pōdos, 'rol o ker,
Av 'dre o tem—ke mai;
K'i nangi puv, k'i jidi len,
K'i yag posh doriáv;
Mukás amé kerésk yag,
Kek-kómi la rhodáv',
Kamlí,
Kek-kómi la rhodáv'.

And you shall wear no silken gown,
No maid shall bind your hair;
The yellow broom shall be your crown,
Your braid the heather rare.
Athwart the moor, adown the hill,
Across the world away;
The path is long for happy hearts
That sing to greet the day,
My love,
That sing to greet the day.

When morning cleaves the eastern grey,
And the lone hills are red;
When sunsets light the evening way,
And birds are quieted;
In autumn noon and springtide dawn,
By hill and dale and sea,
The world shall sing its ancient song
Of hope and joy for thee,
My love,
Of hope and joy for thee.

N'avél tut shuba parraní,
N'avén churná kuvdé;
'Pre men e melanē ruzhyá,
'Pre shero e lalé;
Talé i mura, parl o vesh,
'Rol sâ o tem jas 'men;
E loshané piréna dur,
K'i sarla giavén,
Kamlí,
K'i sarla giavén.

'Vel sarla, kana kam prachél,
Ta muri lalyardé;
'Vel rati, dud p'o drom merél,
Sovén e chiriklé;
'Re sarla, rati, vend, lilai,
'Pre mura, puv, paní,
Giavéla tuki puro tem,
Te kel loshnés to 'zi,
Kamlí,
Te kel loshnés to 'zi.

And at the last no solemn stole
Shall on thy breast be laid;
No mumbling priest shall speed thy soul,
No charnel vault thee shade.
And by the shadowed hazel copse,
Aneath the greenwood tree,
Where airs are soft and waters sing,
Thou 'lt ever sleep by me,
My love,
Thou 'lt ever sleep by me.

JOHN BUCHAN.

Mulí, diklénsa tugané
N'avés tu garadí;
Rashái p'o lil na dela 'pre,
Kai tu 'ves puvyerdí.
'Re tamlo penakhéngo vesh
Telál o ruk biván,
Kai pani ta bavál kelén,
Sovésa poshē man,
Kamlí,
Sovésa poshē man.

DONALD MACALISTER.

II.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 18. Ī TĀRNĪ ČIKALĪ.

With a Note by Prof. R. HALLIDAY.

Bita kēr, trin čaiá, t'ī dai. Dūī ṗenyá ṗiŋkasénas pen bōrē rōnīá; t'ī tārnedér, ō dūī ṗenyā garavénas lā aré vaŋár, te kek dikénas lā. Na kaménas lā kek, 'doléskī čikalí sas-lī. Lajénas te

THE LITTLE SLUT

A small house, three daughters, and their mother. Two sisters thought themselves grand ladies; as for the youngest the two sisters used to hide her in the coal-hole so that no one would see her. They could not bear her, because she was so slatternly.

dikén lā. Kana 'venas komónī ar'ō kēr, garavénas lā. P'enénas ō dūī ṗenyā: "J̌ō tukī, gará tut, tārnī čikalí!"

Dūī ṗenyā ǰanas kī kaɲerī. Yek kūrké kī kaɲerí gilē dūī ṗenyā. 'Vilé keré, ťā dūī ṗenyā rakerénas[1] trustál ō rai tē dikē aré kaɲerī. Ī tārnī čai šunélas tɔp lendī.

Kūrké 'vīás pɔpalé. Gilé kī kaɲerī ō dūī ṗenyā; ī tārní sas keré kokorí. 'Vīás bita ṗurī k'ō hudár te maɲél. K'ārdás lā ī tārní aré. Kedás muterimáɲerī lakī. Pala-sō kedás, ī ṗurī kārdás ī tārnī čai avrí.

'Doi sas pōrnō bār pɔš'ō hudár. Xɔč'ī ṗurī: "Lē 'dova pōrnō bār, ťā učer les opré 'dova bɔ̄rō bār. Dik'sa hudár odói; pīrá lès ťā ǰō aré. Dikésa komóra; dikésa īzā; dikésa dūī sunakaiéskē čɪoχā. Riv tut, ťā av avrí, ťā ǰō k'ō vavēr ťan. Dikésa bita gres; an les avrí, ťā ǰō tɔp leskō dumō; ǰō kī kaɲerí. Mō ǰō 'rē dūr, beš pɔš'ō hudár, ťā ṗandē tē gres pɔš'ō hudár. Av tū avrí maɲkē 'vena yon. Ō tārnō rai 'vela 'vrī pala tutī, wɔntséla te ťilél tut, wɔntséla

They were ashamed to see her. Whenever any one visited the house they used to hide her. The two sisters would say: 'Begone, hide thyself, little slut!'

The two sisters used to go to church. One Sunday the two sisters went to church, came home, and began to talk about a prince whom they had seen there. The young girl overheard them.

Sunday came round again. The two sisters went to church while the young one stopped at home alone. A little old woman came to the door to beg. The young girl bade her enter, and made her some tea. After she had finished the old woman called the girl outside.

There was a white pebble near the door. Said the old woman: 'Take that white pebble and fling it against yonder rock. Thou wilt see a door there; open it and go in. Thou wilt see a chamber; thou wilt see apparel; thou wilt see a pair of golden slippers. Attire thyself, and come out, and pass on to the next place. Thou wilt see a little horse, lead him outside, mount him, and ride to the church. Do not go far within, sit by the door, and let thy horse be tethered near it. Come out before the rest. The young prince will follow thee; he will try to catch thee and

[1] *rakerénas*] Here, as not infrequently, the imperfect tense has the sense 'began to,' e.g. *beštás talé t'ā rōvélas*, 'he sat down and began to weep.'

te ǰunél kon šan. J̌ō tukī ḱeré, čū[1] *īzā 'doi-kai 'yan len, ťā ǰō tukī ḱeré ťā mō ṗen čī."*

Kedás ī tārnī čai sō ṗendás ī ṗurī lakī trin kūrké. Bɔ̄rī rɔ̄nī 'vīás aré kaɲerī, ťā sas te kek odói aré kaɲerī te ǰunénas lā. Sɔ̄r diḱénas tɔp latī. T"'ō rai g'as nasvalō, wɔntsélas te ǰunél kon sas-lī. Vārtasás lā ō rai, ťā 'vrī gyas pala latī te diḱél anī ǰunélas lā. Būt dūr gyas te diḱél kon sas-lī.

Ō palanō kūrkō ī ṗurī ṗendás ī tārnē čakī: "Diḱ sō kesa 'kanɔ́. Kēr sō ṗenáva tukī. J̌ō kī kaɲerī, ťā kana ǰesa tū kī kaɲerī av avrí sigedér. Ō rai 'vela pala tutī. Yeḱ čīoχ peř'la tē pīréstē, ť'ō rai 'vela pala tutī ťā l'atéla tī čīoχ."

Sɔ̄r sas kedó sō ṗendás ī ṗurī. Ī čai g'as ḱeré ťā čidás sau kola pōlé, ťā čidás peskē ṗurē īzā tɔp latī.[2] *Dūī ṗenyá 'vilé ḱeré, ťā rakerénas trustál ō rai. T"'ī tārnī šunélas tɔp lendī. 'Vrī 'vīás ī tārnī ťā ṗučdás*[3] *ī dūī ṗenyéndē anī ǰalas kī kaɲrīátī te diḱél ō rai. "Nɔ̄, čikalī bɔ̄lī, ǰō ťā gará tut!"*

to find out who thou art. Hurry home, restore the clothes to the place thou didst take them from, return, and say naught.'

For three weeks the young girl did as the old woman bade her. A grand lady entered the church, and there was no one present who knew her. Every one was gazing at her, and the prince fell ill with longing to know who she was. He kept his eyes fixed upon her, and he pursued her to see whether he knew her. She had gone too far for him to see who she was.

The last week the old woman said to the young girl: 'Mark what thou shalt do now. Do as I tell thee. Go to church, and when thou goest there leave still earlier; the prince will follow thee. One slipper will fall from thy foot, and he will come after thee and find it.'

Everything fell out as the old woman had said. The girl went home, put back all her finery, and dressed herself in her old clothes. The two sisters came home and began to talk about the prince. And the young one was listening to them. Out she came and asked the two sisters whether she might go to church to see the prince. 'No, thou dirty swine, go and hide thyself.'

[1] *čū*]=*čiv ō*.

[2] *latī*] Incorrectly for *pestī*.

[3] *pučdás*] Here and throughout I have thought it preferable to adhere to the spelling of preterites as recorded in my notebook, though it may be objected that even in the same verb we have participial tenses in *-da* beside others in *-ta*, e.g. *prečdás* beside *prečtás*. Still it may be pointed out that in Welsh Romani verb-stems ending in a voiceless consonant do not necessarily form the participle in a voiceless dental, the voiced *-d-* being at least equally common.

Ō rai na ǰunélas kek sō te kel te ľatél ī rɔ̄nī. Kedás bɔ̄rō χɔbén, ťā bišadás sɔ̄r 'pārl ō ťem te ṗučél sau tārnē rɔ̄nīá[1] *te 'ven odói. Čī na ǰunénas ō tārnē rɔ̄nīá sō wɔntsélas ō rai.*

'Vīás ō dives ke sas ō χɔben te 'vel kedó. Odói sas ō rai 'rē komóra. Sau rɔ̄nīā 'vilé 'prē k'ī skamín. Yeḱ rɔ̄nī beštás talé. Ō rai 'yas ī čīoχ, ťā čidás lā tɔp ō pīrō. Na kedás kek. Avrí gyas. Vavēr rɔ̄nī 'vīás aré. Na kedás kek. Kedás len sɔ̄r, ťā sas te kek odói te kenas ī čīoχákī.[2] *Dūī ṗenyā sas odói. Ī ṗuredér ṗen te wɔntsélas ī res čindīás kotór ī pīréstē; ťā delas peskō meriben te lel ī res.*

P'učdás ō rai: "Kā sī sau rakyā?" Yeḱ raklī 'vyas aré. Na kelas odoiá kek. Vavēr raklī. Na kelas odoiá kek. Ī tārnī čikalí 'vela 'rē 'kanɔ́. Ī čīoχ učerdás talé ō rai. Čidás ī tārnī ō pīrō. Tɔp g'as ī čīoχ, ť'ō rai ǰundīás lā. Ī ṗuredēr ṗen mār'las lā. Trašélas.

Okē bɔ̄rō keriben trustál ō romeribén. Ō dives 'vīás te romerén. Mukté ī kayerī, ťā 'vilé avrí ḱeré. 'Doi sas

The prince knew not what to do to find the lady. He prepared a great banquet and sent throughout the land to invite all young ladies to be present. The young ladies had no idea what the prince wanted.

The day arrived when the banquet was to be held. There was the prince in the reception chamber. All the ladies came up to his chair. One lady sat down. The prince took the slipper and tried it on her foot. It did not fit. Out she went. Another lady approached. It did not fit. He tried them all, and there was none there whom the shoe would fit. The two sisters were there. The eldest sister, who was yearning for the prince, chopped a piece off her foot; she would have given her life to get him.

The prince asked: 'Where are all the serving-maids?' One wench entered. She would not do. Then another girl. She would not do. Now the Little Slut comes in. The prince threw down the slipper. The young girl held out her foot. On went the slipper, and the prince recognised her. The eldest sister could have killed her, but she was afraid.

Lo! there were great preparations for the wedding. The wedding-day arrived. They left the church and returned home.

[1] *rɔ̄nīá*] *Puč-* takes the accusative with a direct object, as here, when the sense is 'to invite.'

[2] *te kenas ī čīoχákī*] lit. 'that would do for the shoe.'

būt rōnīá ťā raiá aré filišín te χɔn. Sɔ̄r sas kedó, ťā gilé peŋī.

J̌idilé bērš. K'abnť sas ī rōnī. Čidť ar'ō vodros. 'Yas čai. Ī ṗuredēr ṗen bišadť te 'vel opré k'ī filišín te dikél palál peskī ṗen. Andīás ṗuredēr ṗen tārnō ǰukél opré k'ī rōnī. 'Yas ī čai ťā muktás ō ǰukél ar'ō vodros ī tārnē rōnīása. 'Yas ṗuredér ṗen tiknō[1] *keré ťā dīás lā peskē dakī. Dikás ō rai ō ǰukél ťā ṭrašadó sas-lō. Čī na ṗendás tala.*

G'as ī rōnī k'abnť pōpalē, čidť ar' vodros. 'Yas čavés. P'uredér ṗen bišadť te 'vel opré k'ī filišín. Pōlē gyas k'ī filišín ī ṗuredēr ṗen te dikél palal ī ṗenyátī. Andīás ī ṗuredēr ṗen tārnō ǰukél pōpalé. Čidás ō ǰukel ar'ō vodros ťā 'yas tiknés. 'Yas les ťā dīás les peskē dakī. Pōlē k'ī filišín te dikél palál peskī ṗen.

Ō rai 'vīás k'eré. 'Vīás opré te dikél ī romnī. Ī ṗuredēr ṗen odói sas-lī. P'uredér ṗen prečtás ō kappī; tārdīás tārnō ǰukel. "Nai 'kavá laǰ? Tārnō ǰukel rōnīákī!" Kekkómī ṗukadás ō rai. K'ārdás ō būť'eŋeré[2]*: "J̌an talé te χɔčerén lā." Maŋdás ī*

There was a great company of lords and ladies feasting in the castle. All was over and the guests departed.

They lived together for a year. The lady was with child. She was put to bed. She bore a daughter. The eldest sister was sent for to come up to the castle to look after her. She brought a puppy up to the lady's room. She took away the child and left the dog in bed beside the young lady. The eldest sister took the baby home and gave it to her mother. The prince saw the puppy and was horrified. But he said nothing then.

The lady was with child again. She was put to bed. She bore a son. The eldest sister was sent for to come up to the castle. She returned to the castle to look after her sister. Again the eldest sister brought a puppy with her. She put it in the bed and took away the baby boy. She carried him off and gave him to her mother. Then she returned to the castle to look after her sister.

The prince came home. He went up to see his wife. The eldest sister was there. She lifted the blankets and drew forth the puppy. 'Is not this a disgrace! A lady to give birth to a puppy!' The prince spoke no more. He summoned his serving-men: 'Get ye down and make ready to burn her.' His wife

[1] *tiknō*] When used in the sense of 'infant' *tiknō* is applied indifferently to those of either sex, *tiknī* being rarely heard.

[2] *but'eŋeré*] The oxytone accent in *būt'eŋeré* for *būtiéŋēre* is unusual.

romnī te mukél lā yeḱār pɔ̄palē. "Te 'velas oǰésavō pɔ̄palē, 'čava mē palál."[1] *Sɔ̄ sas kedó, ī rɔ̄nī sas muklí.*

Bērš ō dūī palál, ī rɔ̄nī gyas ḱabnī pɔ̄palē. Čidí ar'ō vodros. 'Yas vavēr čavés. P'uredér ṗen bišadí te 'vel k'ī filišín. Andīás ī ṗuredēr ṗen tārnō ǰukél opré k'ī filišín, t'ī ṗen čidás ō ǰukel ar'ō vodros, tā 'yas ō tiknō. Bišadás ō tiknō talé k'ī dai.

Ī ṗuredér diḱélas palál peskī ṗen. Opré 'vīás ō rai te diḱél peskī romnī. Ī ṗuredēr ṗen prečdás kappī, tārdīás tārnō ǰukel, tā sikadás les ī reskī. "Dɔ̄dē!" χɔčē, "te laǰ rɔ̄nī tī andél tārnō ǰukel!" Ō rai tɔp'skē pīrē aré komóra. "Kā sī ī būtīéŋerē?" Bišadé. Odói 'vilé te len lā avrí ō vodros talé te 'vel χɔčerdí.

Okē bita ṗurī pɔ̄palē! Bita ṗurī rakerdás lasa. "Mɔ̄ trašē. Akái šom mē. Lesa tū tē tiknén, ō trin, pɔ̄lē."

Xɔčerdí sas ī rɔ̄nī te 'vel. Rigerdí avrí. Ō rai 'vyas avrí ī filišín. 'Čas te diḱél sō ǰalas te kel. Leskō 'zī sas [būt] kuškō k'ī romnī te diḱél lā χɔčerdí. Gyas peskī tā muktás pī rōmnī te 'vel χɔčerdí ī būtīeŋ'rénsa.

implored him to spare her once more. 'If it should prove thus again I will take the consequences.' Everything was made up, the lady was set free.

A year or two afterwards the lady was with child again. She was put to bed. She bore another son. The eldest sister was sent for to come up to the castle. She brought a puppy up to the castle; she put the puppy in the bed, took away the child, and sent him down to her mother.

The eldest girl was looking after her sister. The prince came up to see his wife. The eldest sister lifted the blankets, drew forth the puppy and showed it to the prince. 'Heavens!' he exclaimed, 'what a disgrace for a lady to give birth to a puppy!' The prince leapt to his feet in her bed-chamber. 'Where are the men-servants?' They were sent for. They came there to drag her out of bed, and down to be burnt.

Lo! the little old woman once more! The little old woman spoke to her. 'Fear not. I am here. Thou shalt have thy children back again, all three.'

The lady was to be burnt. She was carried out of doors. The prince came out of the castle. He paused to consider what he should do. His heart was too tender towards his wife to watch her burn. He went away, and left her to be burnt by his men-servants.

[1] *'čava mē palál*] lit. 'I will stand afterwards.'

"Nɔ̄," χɔč'ī rɔ̄nī,. "'šiš χɔčeréna man kek, mō dīr devél sī kuškō, ťā dikéla talé tɔp mandī." 'Yas ī rɔ̄nī bɔ̄rō 'zī trusal[1] *sō ṗendás ī ṗurī lakī. "Muk lā te ǰal," ī ṗurī ṗendás. Muklí sas-lī. "Avésa tū tārnī bɔ̄lī maskal ō rukᵭá." Sō kekār sas ō lav ṗendiló čidás pes*[2] *ī rɔ̄nī tārnē bɔ̄līátī.*

P'ukadás ī ṗurī ī tārnē bɔ̄līákī: "Mārdí 'vesa; pala tutī 'vena ō rai ťā kušī mūrš te mār'n tut. Lena tō bukō ťā čivéna les pɔš ō hudár. Komónī te lela les, ťā ṗukavéla akála lavyá[3] *lelas sō wɔntséla. Mɔ̄ trašē. 'Vesa ǰidí pɔ̄palē, ťā lesa tē romés ťā tē tiknén."*

Aré ō rukᵭá sas-lī bēršá, ťā būtīéŋerè l'atilé lā. Dikᵭé lā kušī divesá. K'eré gilé ťā ṗendé ī reskī te 'doi sas bɔ̄lī te kekār dikᵭé maŋkē. "J̌asa 'mē te dikᵭás lakī. Mārasá lā[4] *kalikō." Ī bɔ̄lī ǰundīás te ō*[5] *raiā ťā būtīéŋerē sas pala latī. Ī bɔ̄lī garávelas*[6] *pes.*

Jasa pɔlē kī tiknē. Ak'ō trin tiknē aré ō rukᵭá kokoré, te dūī

'Nay,' quoth the lady, 'ye cannot burn me; my dear God is good and He will watch over me.' She kept a stout heart because of what the old woman had said to her. 'Let her go!' said the old woman. She was set free. 'Thou shalt become a young sow in the midst of the forest.' As soon as the word was spoken the lady turned into a young sow.

The old woman told the young sow: 'Thou wilt be slain; the prince and some of his men will pursue thee to the death. They will cut out thy liver and hang it beside the gate of the castle. Whoever takes it and repeats these words will get whatever he desires. Fear not. Thou wilt be restored to life, and wilt regain thy husband and thy children.'

She was in the forest for years, and (then) the prince's servants found her. They had seen her for some days. They went home and told their master that there was a sow there that they had never seen before. 'We will go and look for her. We will slay her to-morrow.' The sow knew that the nobles and their men were in pursuit of her. She hid herself.

Let us return to the children. Here are the three alone in the

[1] *trusal.*] Cp. *trustdl* above.

[2] *čidás pès.*] One of the senses of *čiv-*, frequently met with in the folk-tales, is 'to transform into something else,' or with the reflexive pronoun, 'to be transformed,' 'to undergo a change.'

[3] *akála lavyá.*] No magic formula is given, but the mere expression of a wish seems to have sufficed.

[4] *mārasá lā*] pronounced as one word *mārasdla* for *mārdsa lā.*

[5] *te ō*] pronounced almost as *tau.*

[6] *garávelas.*] The accent (for *garavélas*) is again unusual.

ṗenyā bišadé avrí kana mūīás ī ṗurī dai. L'atīás len ī bɔ̄lī. P'endás ī tiknéṇī. "Pala mandī 'vena," χɔč'ī bɔ̄lī, "te mār'n man." P'ukadás ī dai ī ṗuredér čakī: "Kana mārdí šom, ǰɔ̄ talé k'ī filišín, ťā ṗuč bita bukō. Lē bita bukō ťā lesa tū sō kamésа. 'Vava mē pɔlé kī tumé pɔ̀palē. Mīrī ṗen kedás sɔ̄r akáva keriben."

L'atilé bɔ̄lī ťā mārdé lā. Ō rai ṗendás te andén lakō bukō k'ī filišín. Lilé lakō bukō, ťā bukō sas čidō 'prē pɔš'ō hudár.

Ī ṗuredér čai g'as peskī talé pɔš'ō pānī, ťā dūī bitī ṗalā lasa. Beštė talé pɔš'ō pānī. "Nai 'kavá fainō bita ťan?" ṗuǩadás ī čai ī ṗaléskī. "Te 'vel 'men!" χɔč'ō ṗal. "Akē lava les mē. J̌ava mē talé k'ī filišín." "Mɔ̄ ač bɔ̄rī ẉaila, ṗen." G'as ī ṗuredēr čai k'ī filišín oǰɔ̄-sār ṗendás ī bɔ̄lī. I bɔ̄lī ṗendás ī čakī te wɔntsélas čomónī te ǰal talé k'ī filišin te lel bita bukō, ťā lasa 'velas.[1] *Gyas ī ṗen ťā 'yas ō bukō.*

Pɔ̄lē 'vyas. "Nē 'kanɔ́, ṗal, av akái; sikaváva mē čomónī tukī. Kamésas tū bita kēr akái?" "Aua, ṗen." P'ukadás ī ṗaléskī sō ṗendás ī bɔ̄lī. Sār sas ō lav ṗendiló, okē sas ō kēr odói.

forest whom the two sisters had turned adrift when their grandmother died. The sow found them. She spoke to the children. 'They are following me,' quoth the sow, 'to slay me.' The mother instructed her eldest child: 'When I am slain, go down to the castle and ask for a piece of (my) liver. Take the piece of liver, and thou wilt get whatever thou desirest. I will return again to you. It was my sister who caused all this trouble.'

They found the sow and slew her. The prince told them to bring her liver to the castle. They took her liver, and it was hung up beside the gate.

The eldest girl went down to the river-side with her two little brothers. They sat down by the river. 'Is not this a pleasant spot?' said the girl to her brother. 'Would it were ours!' quoth the boy. 'Well, I can get it. I am going down to the castle.' 'Do not stay long, sister.' The eldest girl went to the castle, as the sow had bidden. The sow had told the girl if she desired anything to go down to the castle to get a piece of (her) liver, and her wish would be granted. She went and got the liver.

Back she came. 'Now then, brother, come hither. I will show thee something. Wouldst thou like a cottage here?' 'I would, sister.' She told her brother what the sow had said. As soon as the word was spoken, there stood the cottage.

[1] *ť'ā lasa 'velas*] lit. 'and it would be with her.'

Ō trin ǰidilé aré ō bita kĕr. Odói sas-lē bēršá. 'Vīás gǯǰō te dudyerél p'skī swedla, ťā dikás tǫp trin tiknē. Na ǰunélas len kek, kon sas-lē. G'as talé k'ī filišín ťā ṗukadás ī reskī trusal ō bita kĕr ťā trin tiknē. P'ukadás ī reskī sas ī trin tiknén sunakéskē kištīá[1] *trusal lendī. O rai delas ī mūršés lovó te andél ō trin kištīá kī yov. "J̌ava mē odói 'kanś."*

Gyas peskī ťā 'vīás k'ō kĕr. Kūrdás ō udár; avrí 'vīás ī ṗen. P'učdás ō gǯǰō bita dudéskī te dudyerél p'skī swedla. "Av andré," χɔč'ō čavō. "Nɔ̄," ṗukadás ī čai. "P'en! čī na kel ō mūrš. Me 'vel."

Aré 'vīás, ťā ṗučdás ō gǯǰō ī tarnē čavéstē te dikél ī kišťí. "Nɔ̄, ṗal, mɔ̄ tārdē tī kištī." "P'en, čī na kel ō mūrš kek doš." 'Yas ī kišťí. P'učdás pɔ̄palē ī ṗuredēr čavéstē. "Nɔ̄," ṗukadás ī ṗen: "mɔ̄ tārdē tī kištī." Tārdīás lā, ťā dīás lā ī gǯǰéskī. P'učtás ī čatē lakē kištīákī. "Nɔ̄," ṗukadás ī čai, "kekār na tārdáva mē mīrī kišťí."

G'as peskī ō mūrš talé k'ī filišín, ťā dīás ō dūī kištīá i reskī. "Na 'šiš lōs ī kištī ī čaiátē. Na delas lā kek."

The three took up their abode in the cottage. They were there for years. A stranger called to light his pipe and stared at the three children. He knew not who they were. He went down to the castle and told the prince about the cottage and the three children. He told the prince that the three children were girt with golden belts. The prince offered the man a reward if he would bring the three belts to him. 'I will go there at once.'

He set off and reached the cottage. He knocked at the door; out came the sister. The stranger asked for a light for his pipe. 'Come in,' quoth the boy. 'No,' said the girl. 'The man will do naught, sister, let him come.'

The stranger came in and asked the younger boy to let him look at his belt. 'Nay, brother, do not take off thy belt.' 'Sister, the man will do no harm.' He got the belt. He next asked the elder boy. 'Nay,' said his sister, 'do not take off thy belt.' He took it off and gave it to the stranger. He asked the girl for her belt. 'No,' replied the girl, 'I will never take off my belt.'

The man went down to the castle and gave the two belts to the prince. 'I could not get the belt from the maiden, she would not part with it.'

[1] *kištīá*]=Cont. Gyp. *kuštik*; Pott, ii. 66, Mik. vii. 84, *Beitr.* iv. 42.

Sō sig sas ō kištīá dinilé, ō dūī čavē sas čidé[1] *dūī bɔ̄rē pɔ̄rnē čeriklē opré ō pānī. Ī čai sas muklı kokorí 'kanś. 'Vīás a' lakō šērō trusal sō ṗendás lakī ī bɔ̄lī. Ar'ī 'sarla g'as talé k'ī filišín te lel kotór bukō. K'eré 'vīás ī čai. "Te 'ven mīrē dūī ṗalā pɔ̄lé oǰ́ te sas-lē!" Sār sas ō lav ṗendiló, 'yas ō dūī ṗalā pɔ̄lē.*

Ī ṗen rakerélas ī ṗuredēr ṗalésa. "Dɔ̄dē, ṗal, te 'vel 'mɔ̄rī dai akái! Lasa 'mē 'mɔ̄rī dai pɔ̄lē." "Kekār," ṗukadás ō ṗuredēr čavō, "nɔ̄, kova 'šiš 'vela kedó kek." "Aua," χɔč'ī čai, "lava lā mē pɔ̄lé pɔ̄palē."

Gyas ī čai avrí k'ō pānī. Latī sas ō bukō. "Kamɔ́s mī dai te 'vel pɔ̄lē pɔ̄palé." Sār sig sas ō lav ṗendiló, 'yas ī dai. Peŕdás ī čai talé trašadí.

Ar'ō kēr gilé ō dūī, t'ī dai čumerdás ī dūī čavén. "Sār 'vīán tū te les man akái?" ṗučdás ī čatē. "P'enáva tukī, dai. Tārnī bɔ̄lī 'vīás kī mē kana šanas tū mārdí. Ī bɔ̄lī ṗukadás maŋī te ǰā talé k'ī filišín te lā kotór bukō." "Oǰ́ sas," ṗukadás ī dai; "'šiš tū lesas tō dad pɔ̄lē?" "Aua," χɔč'ī čai, "andáva les mē pɔ̄lé."

As soon as the belts had been handed over, the two boys became swans upon the river. The girl was left all alone now. She recalled what the sow had told her. In the morning she went down to the castle to get a piece of the liver. Home returned the girl. 'May my two brothers resume their former shapes!' As soon as the word was spoken she recovered her two brothers.

The sister was speaking to the elder brother. 'There now, brother, if only our mother were here! We will get our mother back.' 'Never,' said the elder boy; 'no, that is a thing that cannot be done.' 'Indeed,' quoth the girl, 'get her back again I will.'

The girl went out to the river, taking the liver with her. 'I want my mother back again.' Immediately the word was spoken she recovered her mother. The girl fell down in her amazement.

They went together to the house and the mother kissed her two sons. 'How didst thou bring me here?' she asked her daughter. 'I will tell thee, mother. A young sow came to me after thou hadst been slain. She told me to go to the castle and get a piece of liver.' 'So it was,' agreed her mother; 'canst thou bring back thy father?' 'Yes,' quoth the girl, 'I will bring him

[1] *sas čidé.*] See p. 105, note 2.

" Kana ?" ṗučdás ī dai. Avrí gyas ī čai. "'Kai ǰesa ?" ṗučdás ī dai. "'Vā mē pōlé, na ǰava kek dūr."

Gyas ī čai poš'ō pānī. "Te 'vel mīrō dad pōlē kī 'mē." Lav sas ṗukadó: odói 'vīás ō dad. T'ā 'yas ī čai ar' p'skī gant, ťā gyas 'rē ō ker. Ī romnī na 'šiš rakerélas—būt būt trašadí. 'Vīás ī dai pestī. Rakerdás ō rai peskē romnīása: " J̌asa keré k'ī filišín !"

" Sār 'vīán tū te les man akái ?" ṗendás ō rom. " P'enáva tukī. J̌unés tū ō bukō kai sas k'ī filišinákō hudár ?" " Aua," ṗukadás ō rai. " Kana šomas mē mārdí, g'as 'mōrī čai k'ī filišín te lel bita kotór bukó, ťā kana sas ō lav ṗukadó, okē sas ō kova odói."

Ī romnī ť'ō tiknē ť'ō rai talé gilé k'ī filišín. J̌idilé 'doi bēršā. Ō tikné 'vilé 'prē. Ī čai gyas peskī vavēr teméndī bēršéŋī te dikél ō temá. K'eré 'vyas. Ō dad tī dai sas sō kuškō te dikén lā te 'vel keré. Ō dad ť'ī dai mērdé ō dūī. Ō tiknē ǰivéna aré filišín akanó.

Okē sas sōr te 'vilé tiknē aról. Kekkómī akaléstī ! K'eré šam mē dəblésa ! Okē sōr !

back.' 'When?' asked the mother. The girl went outside. 'Where art thou going?' asked her mother. 'I will return, I am not going far.'

The girl went to the river-side. 'I wish my father restored to us.' The word was spoken: there stood her father. He embraced his daughter, and hurried into the cottage. His wife was speechless with amazement. She recovered her senses. The prince spoke to his wife: 'Let us go home to the castle!'

'How didst thou contrive to bring me here?' asked her husband. 'I will tell thee. Dost thou remember the liver which hung beside the castle gate?' 'I do,' said the prince. 'After I had been slain our daughter went to the castle to get a small piece of (my) liver, and when the word was spoken, lo! her wish was granted.'

His wife and children and the prince went down to the castle. They dwelt there for years, and the children grew up. Then the girl travelled for years in foreign lands in order to see the world. She came home. Her father and mother were overjoyed to see her return. Both the parents died, and the children are living in the castle to this day.

There! those were all the adventures the children passed through. There is no more to add. We have reached home with the help of God. That is all!

[The following references may be consulted: Miss Cox, *Cinderella* (Folk Lore Society, 1893), in which three hundred and forty-five variants of the allied stories of *Cinderella, Catskin,* and *Cap o' Rushes* are abstracted and tabulated. Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm,* i. pp. 165-88. Cosquin, *Les Contes indiens et l'Occident* (Paris, 1922), pp. 30-58, 503 foll.

The remarks of Andrew Lang in his *Perrault's Popular Tales* (Oxford, 1888), pp. lxxxvi-cii, display the characteristic defects of that always interesting and vivacious writer. The argument, if examined carefully, rests mainly upon irrelevant similarities of a general character. The suggestion that it was 'the taste and judgment of Perrault' which substituted the *Fairy Godmother* for the *Magical Animal* is inaccurate, although it would be generally agreed that a substitution has in fact taken place, and that in the primary form of the story the heroine received assistance from an animal or plant which represented a reincarnation of her dead mother. There is, however, no adequate reason to suggest that this feature has anything to do with totemism.

'Cinderella' stories are sometimes self-contained and end at the happy marriage, but often, like ours, contain a sequel. It may be convenient to consider the two parts separately.

The first part of the tale follows the normal course of the heroine's pre-matrimonial adventures. The place of meeting is usually either at church or at a ball. A common incident, which is missing from our version, is the animal witness who betrays the attempt of the elder sister to take Cinderella's place or reveals Cinderella's existence in a hiding-place. Of the first forty of Miss Cox's variants, twenty-three favour church, and seventeen ball, as the place of meeting, the mutilated foot occurs in sixteen, and the animal witness in seventeen.

The supernatural helper assumes various forms. Very common is the magical animal, and it is probable that in the original form of the story the helpful beast was a re-incarnation of the dead mother. The familiarity of Indian thought with the idea of metempsychosis and the marked prominence of similar transformations in Indian tales tend to support the view that the original home of the story is in the East. There is, I think, no available evidence for tracing its diffusion in literary sources.

It was at one time believed that the shoe test was connected

with the old Teutonic custom in accordance with which the groom at betrothal placed a pair of shoes upon the feet of his betrothed. See J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 3rd edition, pp. 155-156. The shoe test, however, occurs in Oriental versions of the story (*e.g.* Cox, Nos. 68, 69 from Annam, No. 307 from India), nor are there any *à priori* reasons why this should not be an incident native to the East (see Cosquin, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 foll.). This does not of course prove that the story originated in India (see Hartland's review of Cosquin in *Folk-Lore*, xxxiv. p. 173).

An old woman or an old man quite often plays the *rôle* of the heroine's benefactor, and the treasure rock occurs in ten of Miss Cox's variants. All of these, however, are from Finland, and it is an old man who gives the heroine a wand with which to strike the rock. In another Finnish and one Flemish variant the old man gives a stick with which to strike a tree. I do not happen to remember a combination of old woman helper with treasure rock, nor the use of a white stone as the instrument of striking.

A glance at Miss Cox's list of variants will confirm the statement that it is not uncommon for stories of the *Cinderella* and *Catskin* types to have a sequel narrating the calumniation and condemnation of the heroine, the abduction and attempted or intended destruction of her child or children, and the eventual reunion and recognition either by penetration of the heroine's disguise or through the agency of the children. This general type of *dénouement*, with individual variations of detail, is associated also with many other stories, *e.g. Marienkind*, Grimm, No. 3, *Brother and Sister*, Grimm, No. 11, *The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette*, Grimm, No. 96. I regret that a dissertation, P. Arfert, *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzählungsliteratur*, Rostock, 1897, which deals with this group of stories, is not accessible to me. Owing to the marked general similarity of these stories it is very easy for an unskilful narrator to produce a confused narrative by combining together incongruous incidents on the suggestion, not of logic, but of the association of ideas. Such confusion perhaps explains the rather incoherent form of the tale before us.

The substitution of puppies for babies is a device too common to merit comment. Some references to specific instances in folk-tale will be found in Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

The conclusion of our tale by which a mere wish unties all the knots comes with singular feebleness at the close of its elaboration

of incident. I am inclined to think that it belongs properly to a simpler form of *dénouement*, in which the injured heroine, abandoned by her executioners, who have not the heart to carry out their orders, prays to God for protection, and is provided first with bare necessities, and after with the restoration of her children and the possession of a castle in answer to her prayers. She then prays for her husband to arrive, and a recognition, usually by means of the children's play, takes place. For an example, see von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, i. p. 70.

The appearance of the old woman at the crisis of the heroine's fate is perhaps reminiscent of *Marienkind*, Grimm, No. 3.

The heroine undergoes animal metamorphosis in a Russian (Cox, *op. cit.*, No. 228, goose) and two Finnish (Cox, *op. cit.*, Nos. 95, 101, reindeer) variants of *Cinderella*, and is revealed when she returns at night secretly to suckle her child, a *dénouement* which has connections with the group of stories represented by *Brother and Sister*, Grimm, No. 11. In a Sicilian variant of *Catskin* (Cox, *op. cit.*, No. 188) the wicked father curses the heroine after her marriage, and turns her into a deer. In this form she is wounded by her prince husband, runs to the palace to bind up her wound, and is thus detected.

I do not know of a similar metamorphosis into a sow, though a pig's skin is sometimes the disguise adopted by the heroine of *Catskin* stories (*e.g.* Cox, Nos. 144, 160, 199).

In an Oriental version of *Cinderella* (Cox, No. 69, from Annam) the heroine undergoes a series of transformations. She becomes a turtle, which the supposititious bride causes to be killed, and eats; but from the shell, which is thrown away, springs a bamboo shoot; when this is destroyed the peel becomes a bird, and from the feathers of the bird grows a tree, from which an old woman takes a fruit home, and from this the heroine emerges, and is eventually recognised.

It may be suggested that some idea of this sort is at the bottom of the business of hanging up the liver. The form of our story may also have been influenced by the incident, which frequently forms part of the family history of the previous generation, when Cinderella alone refuses to eat her mother or the faithful animal, but collects the remains from which subsequently springs the miraculous element in her fortunes.

The adventures of the two brothers and sister in our story are influenced by *The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette*, and

possibly to a minor degree by *The Seven Ravens*, Grimm, No. 25.

The number and sex of the children, two brothers and a sister, who is sometimes the oldest but usually the youngest, is more constant in *The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette* than in allied stories, and it is the regular thing in this story for the girl eventually to save the situation. If the story is to have any point, the traveller must clearly be an emissary.

The transformation of the brothers into birds reminds us of *The Seven Ravens* and similar stories. It may be noticed, however, that Grimm, No. 96, *The Three Little Birds*, belongs to the group of *The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette*. Here the two wicked sisters throw the babies, two boys and a girl, successively into the water. There is no subsequent metamorphosis of the brothers by enchantment, but as each baby is thrown in a little bird flies up into the air and sings:

'To thy death art thou sped
Until God's word be said;
In the white lily bloom,
Brave boy (or bonny girl), is thy tomb.'

When persons are turned into animal shapes by material means it is more usually effected by putting something on rather than by taking something off. For example, the seven brothers in a Tuscan story are turned into sheep or swine by being induced to put on caps made of the skin of an ogre whom they had slain, and a heroine is very frequently turned into a bird by the malicious insertion of a pin into her head. The removal of a necklace causes temporary death in an Indian story, Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (London, 1870), p. 241. W. R. H.]

III.—THE SOCIAL POLITY OF THE ENGLISH GYPSIES

By T. W. Thompson

THE only English Gypsy law-maker whose name has been preserved, it would seem, is Newcombe Heron, who, for the reason given in a recent paper on Christian names, may confidently be identified with 'Newcome, base-born son of Phebe Smith and William Hearn, travelling Gipsies,' baptized at Chalfont

St. Peter, in Buckinghamshire, on March 2, 1777.[1] No direct descendants of his are known, and from northern Gypsies who recollected his name—Joshua Gray and Īza Heron, both of whom counted him a kinsman of Dick and 'No Name'—I could never glean more than that he legislated on card-playing!

But if lawgivers are so poorly represented in Gypsy tradition there is still information to be gathered about the rules they laid down. Among the Woods it relates to the settlement of personal disputes in the days when Thomas, grandson of Abram, was head of the family, and Matthew, my informant, a young man. The gist of their law was that disputants must promptly settle their quarrel by fighting it out in a proper manner, and under conditions precluding any extension of it. They had to adjourn to a neighbouring field, without weapons of any sort, and quite alone. Referees were appointed, but even they were not allowed on the field; nor could the combatants leave it until they had shaken hands, and declared their quarrel over. Charlie Wood, asked for an opinion on the Prices and Florences as Gypsy families, condemned them as 'mumply' because on a quarrel arising among them they seize the handiest weapon; and by the same criterion Esau Young (or Heron) distinguished between 'low-bred wagrants' and *Romanë*.

Ursula Herne's 'action at law' against a man who has said 'the thing which is not' concerning a Gypsy woman and himself I have never been able to verify in detail,[2] but old Elijah Heron had a clear recollection of the times when any accusation against a person's moral behaviour had to be made, or repeated, before a gathering of heads of families, which judged of its truth or falsity. If slander was proved, then the utterer of it, or her husband, father, or brother in the case of a woman, had to fight the injured party, or any one he or she chose to nominate instead; whilst the husband or father of a slandering woman was expected to thrash her—and no doubt did. If the accusation turned out to be true, on the other hand, no formal punishment, beyond disgrace, seems to have been inflicted on the delinquent. I expect it was a trial of this kind that Hall witnessed in a big camp of Herons outside Lincoln in 1876, for among those present were Khulai, Golias and Isaac, who belonged to the same social group as Elijah.[3]

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 24.
[2] *The Romany Rye*, chap. x.
[3] *The Gypsy's Parson* (London, 1915), p. 31.

What sort of crime might once have merited expulsion from Gypsy society, a punishment said to have been imposed in Hampshire in 1842,[1] is clearly indicated in a story I owe to Reuben Brinkley of Ely. Joe Draper,[2] whose fame as a poacher is still well remembered, was raiding some preserves one night with 'Young Un' Smith when three armed keepers suddenly closed with them. Joe was stooping down, and seemed to be at the mercy of the two *vešengros* who attempted to seize him, but with a sudden and vicious swing of his arm he felled one of them, and, butting the other violently with his head in the stomach, he was gone before they could recover. 'Young Un,' left alone, had to face all three men, and though he fought desperately they eventually battered him into submission. The magistrates took a severe view of the case, sentencing him to a year's imprisonment. At the trial he refused to give the name of his associate, and no wheedling or bullying could extract it from him; but no sooner was he out of gaol, and recovered in health and strength, than he set out to find Joe, to accuse him before their friends of desertion, and to demand a settling of their account. Very soon he was on the track of his former friend, but, waiting for a favourable opportunity, he did not confront him until Baldock feast, which always attracted a large number of Gypsies in those days. Joe admitted his guilt, and in reply to 'Young Un's' challenge said he was ready to fight, though clearly he had no heart for the business; nor any strength, for through fretting over his conduct and its probable consequences he had 'gone into a decline.' When the fight was over, and Joe, beaten after a long struggle of which he had the worst throughout, rose to his feet again, 'Young Un' grasped his hand. 'Brother,' he said, 'we 've bin friends, and we part friends; and them 's the last words as ever I shall say to you.' Some of the Gypsies present followed 'Young Un's' example, shaking hands with Joe; some merely turned away: but whatever the manner of parting it was final. 'He was cast off for ever,' said Reuben, ''cause he 'd reserted his pal, and even his own people they wouldn't 'sociate wi' him agen.'

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 185.

[2] The only son of 'old' Joe Draper by his first wife, who was a Shaw, and the father by Annie Carey, *alias* Draper, of Jim, who was as famous a poacher as himself, and of Betsy, who devised the quilted shirt in which Jim used to store the eggs he picked up in coverts, and who rivalled her brother, if she did not excel him, at clay pigeon shooting. Way (*No. 747*, Bristol [1890], pp. 73-5) gives some of the stories told of these Drapers, who were very well known in Hertfordshire, the Fens, and East Anglia.

Borrow has asserted that expulsion from Gypsy society possibly awaited those who failed to pay their debts of honour,[1] though Crabb, an earlier and better witness, makes no mention of it. 'For the payment of a debt which is owing to one of their own people,' he says, 'the time and place are appointed by them, and should the debtor disappoint the creditor he is liable by their law of honour to pay double the amount he owes; and he must pay it by personal servitude, if he cannot by money, if he wish to be considered by his friends honest and respectable.'[2] This law was remembered by Katie Smith, who instanced the service exacted by her grandfather, Ambrose, from one of the Printers—a half-blood Heron—who could not repay a loan of £30 made to him for the purchase of a horse and covered wagon. And Morwood[3] clearly knew something of it besides what he had read in Crabb and Borrow, for, writing in 1885, he records how 'not many months since' a prosperous Gypsy horse-dealer named Arnold Smith, who was well known in Gloucestershire, lent £5 to one of the Coopers in an inn at Acton-Turville, enjoining the borrower as he tossed him the note not to forget the old law. Cooper was duly mindful of it, and returned the money at the time agreed upon between them.

The question of debt settlement leads to that of inheritance, and the recollection of how Būi Boswell once informed me that he had been defrauded of £20,000 in real estate. His cousin, the last surviving son of his aunt, Betsy Boswell, and Job Williams, had perished by starvation in Canada, he said, together with his wife and all his descendants, a premature winter having caught them in a 'great wilderness place' miles from anywhere; and this cousin had left the sum named, invested for the most part in houses and public-houses at Hartford, Connecticut, which had long been his headquarters. Būi had claimed it, on the grounds that there were no maternal uncles living to inherit, and that he was the eldest maternal cousin of the dead man. He had employed, he said, the best lawyers in England; yet never a penny had come to him. Didn't I think it was robbery—downright common thieving—nothing less?

[1] *The Zincali*, introduction. Borrow's statement may very well be true, but in the absence of undeniably independent support it would be dangerous to accept it.

[2] *The Gipsies' Advocate*, 3rd ed. (London, 1832) p. 27.

[3] *Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van* (London, 1885), pp. 197-8.

The opening refrain of his daughters' favourite song ran through my head:

'What 's the matter, cock-eyed daddy,
As I can't see like you?'

But with mental reservations as to the correctness of his facts, and the actuality of inheritance laws that excluded paternal kindred and all women as possible heirs, I proffered the old man my sympathy. Subsequent investigation showed he had been misinformed about the circumstances of his cousin's death, for the American press, which did, incidentally, credit 'Prince' Williams with an estate (including an hotel) worth more than $100,000 when he died in 1895, stated that his death occurred at East Hartford, and that he was survived by a widow and three sons;[1] whilst the 'Prince's' sister, Delenda Williams, wife of Joshua Gray of Southport, confirmed the truth of this statement. But if Būi's facts were a bit fanciful, not so his inheritance laws, for recently I have learned from Lias Boswell of Derby that his forbears had rules governing rights of succession to money, and to property not destroyed at death, that are in perfect accord with them.

Money and stock-in-trade, said Lias—whose father's family, it must be remembered, possessed considerable wealth—were normally inherited by the eldest son, or, if no son survived, by the eldest grandson, who might be the son of a daughter. In either case he must be grown up. If there was no adult male in the direct line the inheritance devolved upon the nearest maternal kinsman of the deceased, a brother, an uncle, a nephew, or a cousin. The order of precedence as between a brother and a maternal uncle had been hotly disputed, as had the rival claims of seniority and mere age among nephews and cousins. He did not know for certain what the old rules were on these points; but was sure there were no circumstances under which a woman, child, or paternal kinsman, not even a half-brother by a different mother, could possess rights of succession, though widows were always allowed to keep what was left of travelling and domestic equipment after the funeral destruction. There was never any division of the inheritance, probably because it was the duty of the heir to support, so far as was necessary, any persons previously

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 359. Ned Boswell, brother to Betsy, was still alive, I believe, when 'Prince' Williams died, but not perhaps at the time Būi made his claim. The latter certainly was the eldest maternal cousin of the dead man in England; in America there may have been one or two sons of Betsy's sister, Lucy, living who were senior to him in years.

dependent or semi-dependent on the deceased, and, in a general sense, to care for his widow and unmarried children, if any. When a woman had private money or valuables—given her at marriage, for instance—the rules were the same, her husband, *qua* husband, having no legitimate claim to them.

From the small Lawrence Boswell family[1] one or two imperfect illustrations of the working of these laws may be drawn. Lias's paternal grandfather, Moses Boswell, had for his first wife a Saiēra Buckland, whose marriage gift included a sum of money, and a pair of diamond-studded shoe buckles. She died young, leaving two sons, Sam and Nathan, who were little more than infants, and therefore debarred from inheriting. Moses intended to bury the buckles with her, but some uncles of hers arrived before the funeral, and, laying claim to them as well as to her private money, received both at his hands, for he did not dispute their right to them. What happened further, beyond a quarrel among these Buckland uncles as to what should be done with the inheritance, is not known; nor can any one say now exactly who the claimants were.[2] Moses himself died in 1855, survived by Sam but not Nathan; also by his second wife, Trēnit Heron, and most of her family, which ranged from Nelson, a married man of several years' standing, to a girl of about fifteen. Sam, who shortly afterwards went to America, declined the inheritance because of the responsibility attached, and it passed to Nelson, with whom Trēnit travelled until her death many years later. The next to die in Lawrence Boswell's family was Jōni, who belonged to the younger end of it. She had never married, so one of her two surviving brothers became entitled to the small sum of money she had saved. It went to Aaron, the younger of the two, he, like Jōni, being born to Moses' second wife, Peggy Boswell, whereas Sam's mother was Betty Buckland; but it is only fair to disclose that Jōni had travelled regularly with Aaron. A little later, in 1861, Lucretia, the eldest of Lawrence Boswell's known daughters, died unmarried, and this time Sam, who was a full brother, inherited her savings.

To the Herons Lias attributed the same inheritance rules as formerly prevailed among his own people; and it is from his

[1] *Vide J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 15-18.

[2] The opinion—it is no more—of present day Boswells is that they were brothers of Saiēra's father, who was dead, and that the inheritance was divided among them, the buckles being sold.

mother, Sarah Heron, daughter of 'No Name' and Rose Lovell, that Būi Boswell is likely to have derived his code, for Sarah's alliance with Wester Boswell, Būi's father, was very brief. Later, she found a husband among the Lovells, a family that provides two interesting inheritance disputes, both bearing on the right of a woman to succeed. The first, in which Būi's wife, Savaina Lovell, was somehow involved, I never clearly understood in detail, but it was essentially a contest between a bachelor's sister and his brother's son, and was won by the latter. The second, occurring in 1903, was between the widow of a childless man, and a son of his elder brother, the contending parties being respectively Shandres Smith's sister, Eldorai, who married her cousin, William Lovell, in New Jersey in 1868, 'Gypsy fashion, by joining hands and promising each other before the rest of the tribe'; and Christopher Lovell, whose parents were William's brother, Cornelius, and Eldorai's sister, Deloraifi. William left goods worth £357, which Christopher seized. Thereupon Eldorai successfully appealed in the Glasgow Courts to have her marriage declared legal; and went on to secure the goods by threatening to prosecute her nephew for theft. Shandres, who gave me some of the particulars,[1] fully approved his sister's action, and added, moreover, that when a man died everything went to his widow, except money, which was divided equally between his sons and daughters. In connection with this view it may be mentioned that on the death of Absolom Smith, a Leicestershire 'King of the Gypsies,' at Twyford in that county, in 1821, each of his children, several of whom were daughters, is said to have received £100.[2] A variant of the account quoted states that he left a gallon of sovereigns, which was shared equally by his children.

Among the Bucklands there would appear to be no objection to a woman inheriting, for when Prudence Buckland, widow of Sidnal Smith, died at Charlbury without issue, leaving a farm and £1500 in gold,[3] her sister, Sēgul, came into possession of them. Very probably Sēgul was the only one of her brothers and sisters who survived her, but even so there were nephews, and not one of

[1] The remainder are taken from *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 368. An appeal to gorgio law on the part of Gypsies may often, I think, be interpreted as an attempt to set aside Gypsy custom.

[2] *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, vol. i. (1891), pp. 93-5, has an account of Absolom Smith and his burial at Twyford by J[ustin] S[impson]. The variant which follows is from Kēzi Booth and Vaira Holland.

[3] It is not certain that Prudence actually possessed this sum of money in gold at the time of her death.

these seems to have disputed the claim, whilst some took so little interest as not to know who got the farm and money. On the other hand, rights of sons to their mother's estate was contested on the death of Nīli Fenner's[1] sister, Mary, widow of 'Shippy' Buckland. 'Shippy' had previously bequeathed to his wife a certain amount of money, which Nīli, as the eldest of the Fenner family, and Mary's sole surviving brother, claimed in opposition to her sons—who were technically illegitimate. Legal advice was sought by both parties, and a settlement reached by which Nīli and his two sisters (who also intervened) shared the money, whilst Mary's sons kept the stock-in-trade of the roundabout business they had managed for their mother. The chief point of interest, however, is that Nīli first tried to persuade his nephews to accept him as a sort of guardian, and as part sharer in their business, and seemed to consider them very un-Gypsylike in refusing. Is it too fanciful to suggest a dim recollection on his part of the privileged position enjoyed by maternal uncles in matrilineal society? Very probably it is, for he was also 'head' of the small Fenner 'clan,' and we find Jabez Buckland, the eldest member of his 'clan,' asserting that he, if anybody, could claim for money lent by his great-uncle, Tom, to a Berkshire landed family and never repaid by them, though Tom almost certainly had direct descendants living at the time.

Inheritance laws and practices are largely based on conceptions of kinship, and as the latter change the former follow suit, but with a distinct lag owing to their greater inertia (if I may use the language of physical science). To the anthropologist this lagging behind is pure gain, for by studying rights of succession to money and property (and equally to titles and offices) he can sometimes discern an earlier stage in the evolution of kinship. It is so with the English Gypsies. At the present time they recognise kinship and descent through both parents just as English people do, but not very long ago inheritance rules were in operation among a section of them that excluded members of the father's family as possible heirs when the direct line failed—non-uterine brothers no less than more distant relatives. And if these rules are not a survival from times when the mother was the sole fount of kinship

[1] For an account of the Fenner family—an offshoot of the Bucklands—*vide J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 45. I am indebted to Mr. Winstedt for the information given about inheritance among the Bucklands.

I cannot conceive how they arose. Recent borrowing is unthinkable, not only because proof is lacking that maternal filiation can and does succeed to the paternal or dual system under any circumstances, but also, and more cogently, because none of the dominant peoples with whom the European Gypsies have come into contact for centuries were in a position to lend.[1] As there is no other alternative we may assume, then, that part, and probably the whole, of the original English Gypsy stock was matrilineal.

Further evidence for this may, perhaps, be found in the assertions of Delenda Williams of Southport, and of Louisa Smith, who belonged to an Oxfordshire family, that their mothers' sisters were their only real aunts; and in the view sometimes expressed, and not infrequently acted upon, by good Gypsies (who attach no importance to illegitimacy under English law) that children 'by rights should follow the mother's name.' A few of them would, and do, make it the maternal grandmother's instead, the example that most readily occurs to me being Taimi Boswell, a maternal grandson of 'No Name' Heron by one of his Boss-Smith wives, who not only called himself Smith on all official occasions, but was wont to maintain stoutly when with Gypsies that he really was a Smith, and that Boswell, his father's name, was merely a bye-name of his. Among mixed breeds, following the mother's name, or even the maternal grandmother's, is not rare either. As an instance of the latter practice the case of Frank Biddle may be quoted. His father was Jim Smith, his mother a daughter of Isaac Sheriff and Rebecca Biddle; yet he is never called by any other surname than Biddle, his maternal grandmother's.

In matrilineal society the privileged position of women as transmitters of inheritance rights is not always accompanied by recognition of their own right to succeed. What the position formerly was among English Gypsies obviously cannot be determined on the evidence presented. Nor can any rules be laid down about the special claims, if any, of widows, and of 'heads' or senior members of 'clans.' It would be interesting to know what was customary in these respects, but a more pressing necessity is knowledge of the way in which individual families fell into social groups.

Where exclusively maternal kinship prevails children naturally belong to the mother, or to her social unit; and marriage is commonly matrilocal, the husband taking up his residence, tempor-

[1] *Vide* E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), chap. x.

arily or permanently, with his wife and her kindred. Maternal 'clans' based on these two principles have been noticed by one or two writers on Continental Gypsies,[1] but never, so far as I know, has the possibility of their former existence in this country been more than suggested.[2] Simson was interested in the internal polity of the Scottish *Romané*, and has described their division of Scotland into districts, each assigned to a different 'tribe,' and the issue of tokens by the headmen of these giving the bearer a right to travel in his territory, or if it was a Baillie token anywhere he chose. But there he stops, no indication being given as to how the 'tribes' were constituted.[3] Borrow, the only other early writer who speaks of division into 'clans or tribes,' obviously assumed patriarchal principles, for he says that each 'clan or tribe' used a particular surname, and presents Jasper Petulengro to us as head of the East Anglian Smiths.[4] Latter-day genealogists by tracing descent only in the male line have implied their acceptance of this view, though I do not think any one of us has definitely asserted it.

The material now accumulated certainly warrants no such assertion, for nothing could be clearer than that paternal descent and patrilocal marriage do not form the basis of some of the social groupings discernible. On the contrary, it can be demonstrated that what were essentially maternal 'clans' existed among English Gypsies during the nineteenth century. Whether they were formed in conscious obedience to the rules of matrilineal society is, perhaps, more than doubtful, but I do not know that this matters much so long as it can be shown that the influence at work was neither accidental nor temporary.

A beginning can be made most conveniently with the Chilcott-Smith-Lee-Boswell-Young-Brown-Buckley group to which Borrow's friend, Ambrose Smith (Jasper Petulengro), belonged. Ambrose's mother, Mireli Smith, was daughter of another Mireli Smith, whose second husband, John Chilcott, left her with a son bearing his own name when he was transported about 1800; and it is round these two children of old Mireli's—the only ones known—that the 'clan' formed, Jasper's paternal kindred, though on

[1] Wlislocki: *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), pp. 60-2, 66-7. Brehpohl: *Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner* (Seegefeld, 1910), p. 6. Winstedt: *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 260-5.

[2] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 31-3.

[3] *A History of the Gypsies* (London, 1865), pp. 218-19.

[4] *The Zincali*, introduction; *Lavengro* and *The Romany Rye*, *passim*.

friendly terms with him, being quite definitely excluded from it. By 1840, if not earlier, it had taken shape from a complex of East Anglian families that permitted of several alternative groupings; and from then onwards for more than a quarter of a century it kept in being as a single, closely-knit, social and economic unit. True, two sub-divisions are clearly recognisable throughout, the one headed by John Chilcott, the other by Ambrose Smith, but they worked together in their horse-dealing, and often met together—particularly at Norwich, which was Ambrose's head-quarters; about Woodbridge, the chief centre of the John Chilcott party; and on the eastern outskirts of London (North Woolwich, East Ham, Barking), where common stabling was rented at one period. Funerals, and other special occasions, usually saw the whole 'clan' assembled.

Apart from the leaders themselves, Ambrose Smith's mother, and his bachelor brother, Fāden, this very definite social group had, at the time of its emergence, a membership of eight families, equally divided between the two sub-sections. With John Chilcott were his four married daughters—Union, Caroline, Florence, and Shūri—whose husbands, in the order given, were Charles Lee, Tom Lee, Wester Boswell, and Taiso Young (or Heron);[1] whilst with Ambrose Smith were his four sisters—Laini, whose husband, Tom Cooper, had been transported; Elizabeth, widow of Elijah Buckley; Liti, wife of Būi Brown; and Prudence, who was married to Matt Barker, a gorgio horsedealer.[2] John Chilcott had no other married children at that date; Ambrose Smith had no other sisters; nor was any one included in the 'clan' whose presence has not been indicated, beyond two children[3] Caroline Chilcott had borne to Taiso Young's brother, Perun, before she married Tom Lee, though possibly there were temporary adherents from time to time. Its composition, then, was strictly in accordance with the two principles on which maternal 'clans' are based, assuming that headmen as such need not join their wives' kindred.

[1] Charles Lee = Union Chilcott had issue—Kērlenda, Sarah, Repronia, Leondra, and Caroline. Tom Lee = Caroline Chilcott had issue—Ada, Walter, Edgar, and Bendigo. Wester Boswell = Florence Chilcott had issue—Byron, Kenza, Oscar, Bruce, Julia, Wallace, Algar, and Laura. Taiso Young = Shūri Chilcott had issue —Walter, Noah, Lūrēni, Kenza, and Lenda.

[2] Tom Cooper = Laini Smith had issue—Trēnit, John, and Lydia. Elijah Buckley = Elizabeth Smith had issue—Lazzy, Ōti, and Levaithen. Liti and Prudence Smith had no children. Ambrose himself had by Sanspirella Heron two sons—Alfred and Tommy, and two daughters—Delaia, and Bīdi. (*Vide J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 162-3.)

[3] Albert and Richenda, who used the surname Young.

Beyond increasing the number of individual families, marriages during the thirty years following brought no sensible change. Setting aside the brief alliance between Ōti Smith (or Buckley) and his cousin Lovínia, who was daughter of Ambrose Smith by an early and temporary wife, Trēli Smith, ten members of the 'clan' are known to have married. As many as six of them paired off—Lazzy Smith (or Buckley) and Kērlenda Lee, Noah Young and Caroline Lee, Kenza Boswell and Lūrēni Young. Two more —Fāden Smith and Johnny Cooper—married gorgios, and continued to travel with Ambrose as before. The remaining two—Levaithen Smith (or Buckley) and Lydia Cooper—wedded respectively John Lee, who was nephew to Charles and Tom, and Tom Brown, who was brother to Būi; and their husbands, already closely connected with the 'clan,' became members of it after marriage. The total result, therefore, was a gain of seven households, with no losses to set off against it.

I have, however, ignored Charles Chilcott, son of John Chilcott's wife, Ruth Lovell, possibly by an earlier husband. Information about him is conflicting, but it is tolerably certain that he married, and either remained with his mother, or rejoined her after an interval.[1] And no mention has been made, though it may well be, of the adhesion of a gentleman named 'Squire' or 'Doctor' Brewster, whose family was well known around Woodbridge.[2] He did not enter the 'clan' by marriage, however, for

[1] The headstone erected to the memory of Charles Chilcott in Birkenhead cemetery records that he died on Nov. 5, 1865, aged 58 years. If the age given is correct he must have been son of Ruth Lovell by a husband prior to John Chilcott, for the latter's son, John, was only 25 when he died on April 1, 1851, and yet he is described on a very striking table tomb in Kesgrave churchyard, between Ipswich and Woodbridge, as being the eldest son of John and Ruth. The western end of this tomb depicts two men with whips, one holding a horse, the other standing behind it. The human figures, according to the Pinfolds, who are akin to the Chilcotts, represent John Chilcott and his younger brother, Charles. He had no others, they say, who grew to maturity. In order to reconcile these conflicting statements I can only suggest that the 58 of the Birkenhead inscription is a mistake for 38.

The Pinfolds credited Charles Chilcott with a wife, one son, and two or three daughters. The son, George, married a well-to-do gorgio, and died young, leaving a widow and family, who were residing in Yarmouth when I was last there, in 1911. It would appear that he married some time about 1870, and so may well have been son of a man born in 1827. It is not certain that Charles Chilcott's widow survived him: if she did she probably remained with the Chilcott 'clan' for a few years after her husband's death, and then left it. A Sabaina Chilcott, whom I take to be her daughter, was certainly a member of the ball-giving party mentioned later.

[2] I am indebted for some information about the Brewster family to Mr. Arthur G. Read of Campsea Ashe, Wickham Market.

even if he did make Ambrose Smith's daughter, Bīdi, his wife—which is open to doubt—it was not until a good many years after the migration north took place.

This occurred in 1865, by which time Mireli Smith and John Chilcott were dead, as were the latter's son, John (unmarried), his daughters Celia and Rosabella (both unmarried), and Florence, wife of Wester Boswell, and his son-in-law, Taiso Young; whilst Prudence Smith had gone mad, and been placed in an asylum.[1] The Browns, who had probably left the 'clan,' or been expelled from it, a little earlier, did not quit East Anglia, and I am not sure about Trēnit Cooper; but with these exceptions the migrants included every one then alive who had previously travelled regularly under the leadership of John Chilcott and Ambrose Smith. They made a prolonged stay at Wolverhampton in the summer of 1865, and then moved on again, the succeeding winter being spent at Birkenhead, where Charles Chilcott and his mother both died, the one in November, the other in March. Next came visits to the Isle of Man and Ireland—on the part of Ambrose Smith's adherents at any rate; but in the same year—1866—we hear of Epping Forest Gypsies at Newcastle-on-Tyne;[2] whilst in the summer of 1867, and again in the following winter and spring, the whole of Ambrose Smith's party (including Lazzy Smith, but not Ōti, who had stayed behind in Ireland) was at Edinburgh, as we know from Miss Henrietta Keddie's journal.[3] And they, Groome informs us through the mouth of his fictitious Willy the Tinkler, first entered Scotland 'wi' thae ither Rōmanies wha went aboot gie'in the Gipsy balls.'[4]

As a systematic practice ball-giving probably began late in 1868 or early in 1869, and continued until 1873. The composition of the party has been discussed in a previous paper,[5] and I need only remark here that the permanent nucleus consisted of the John Chilcott sub-group, including Lazzy Smith (with whom were his mother, and his brother Ōti), who properly belonged to it by marriage. Subsequently Lazzy, Ōti, and their mother rejoined

[1] Given as Burntwood in a previous paper (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 166), but Burntwood is a local pronunciation of Brentwood in Essex, and it was here, not at Burntwood in Staffordshire, that Prudence was immured.

[2] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 23.

[3] *Good Words*, 1868, pp. 701-5, 745-62. Only first letters of names are given by the author as a rule, but these, together with some Christian names of children, suffice for identification.

[4] *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 17.

[5] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 19-33.

Ambrose in Scotland. About the same time his party was further strengthened by the inclusion of Poley Mace, who married his daughter, Delaia. By 1874, however, it had begun to break up, and following Ambrose's death in 1878, and several others about that date, it fell to pieces altogether, some of the survivors migrating to America, some settling in Ireland, and at least one—Laini Cooper—returning to Norfolk. No one remained besides Lazzy Smith's family, his mother, and his nephew, Nathan Lee; so they, not unnaturally considering Lazzy's marriage, joined the Chilcott sub-section, which had established itself on the Blackpool sandhills, and about Birkenhead and Liverpool.

The Blackpool Gypsyry began a little after 1830 with the settlement there of Wester Boswell's brother, Ned, who was practically alone, I think, until the arrival, more than forty years later, of the Lees, Boswells, and Youngs, who had travelled with John Chilcott. Following them fairly closely came part of a second East Anglian 'clan' that appears to have consisted originally of the daughters and sons-in-law of Ambrose Smith's paternal uncle, Ambrose, *i.e.* Honor Smith and Frank Smith, Fēmi Smith and Sampson Robinson, Rachel Smith and Nixi Lovell, Moll Smith and Golden Hope, and Athalaia ('Happy') Smith, whose husband was a Nicholls or Nicholson.[1] The elder Ambrose himself had been transported in early middle age, together with his three sons, and if there was any definite leadership in the 'clan' in the first stages of its existence it probably vested in his wife, Mireli Draper, a clever and masterful woman. Later, Frank Smith, who was first cousin to his wife, and Sampson Robinson, whose sister Sēli[2] perhaps adhered to the 'clan' at one time, as some of Frank Smith's brothers and sisters[3] may possibly have done, emerge as the dominant personalities, but neither should be regarded as a headman in the sense that John Chilcott and Ambrose Smith were. Nor should any definite organisation be assumed. Yet, when migration took place, first to the west of England and then

[1] *Vide J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 162-3. The existence of Athalaia had not come to my notice when the pedigree given there was printed. She had one son, William, and possibly others. The list of Fēmi's children by Sampson Robinson should be extended so as to include (in addition to Ēros) Īza, Lias, Sampson, Louisa and Eva. Moll Smith by her second husband, Golden Hope, had three sons, Alfred, Nathan and Johnny.

[2] Sēli (or Sally) Robinson married in turn Johnny and Jimmy Taylor, the latter of whom was father of Fēmi Smith's daughter, Lementēni. Sampson and Sēli were children of a Wuzi Robinson.

[3] For a list *vide J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 167.

into Lancashire, only the Hopes were left behind. At Warrington Athalaia Smith, whose husband had disappeared earlier, was drowned by falling into a canal. Whether Rachel and Nixi Lovell went on to Blackpool is doubtful, but there the Smiths and Robinsons settled.

The remaining marriages of John Chilcott's Lee, Boswell, and Young grandchildren can now be given. It will make the general situation clearer if I state that the two East Anglian 'clans' settled at Blackpool remained more or less distinct, and that Wester Boswell—who had lost his wife, it must be remembered—held aloof to some extent from his former associates, though he was always to be found about Birkenhead, where many of them wintered. Wester had six sons, but only three besides Kenza married, and all of them broke away completely from the Chilcott group. Algar, whose wife, Athalaia Whatnell, was a granddaughter of Frank and Honor Smith, forsook Blackpool for East Anglia; Wallace, who married a mulatto, accompanied Lazzy Smith and Nathan Lee on their return to Scotland; and Oscar joined the 'clan' to which his wife, Eliza Gray, belonged. Their only surviving sister, Julia, married Lias Robinson, who probably became merged in his wife's kindred: his brother, Ēros, and half-brother, Rabi Smith, certainly did on wedding Alamīna Boswell, daughter of Kenza, and Lenda Young, sister to Noah. For the rest, Ada and Edgar Lee, and Albert Young married Tobias, Emma, and Dorīlia Boswell, son and daughters of Ned; Bendigo Lee found a wife in Morgiāna Lee, who before her marriage was employed in Captain Garnett's household; whilst Richenda Young and Sarah Lee changed their names to Townshend and Meyrick respectively by wedding local gorgios.[1] Sarah went to live at Formby; the rest camped on Blackpool South Shore, though Ada Lee and her husband, I believe, subsequently moved to a public-house at Workington.

Generally speaking, then, marriage in this generation of the John Chilcott-Ambrose Smith 'clan' was matrilocal. It was rather long delayed in several instances, whilst there was evidently a strong disinclination to marry strange Gypsies, analysis showing that six members of the generation mated together, and that of the fifteen others who married Gypsies fourteen formed alliances

[1] The Blackpool Franklins are descended from Eva Robinson = John Franklin. Eva's half-sister, Lementēni, married a man named Mullinger. Who the Blackpool Curls were I have never ascertained.

with relatives of male members of the 'clan,' two of them with their own first cousins. Even Bendigo Lee, who is the exception, married a Lee.

Nearly all the better class East Anglian and North Country Gypsies of recent years, who cannot be connected with either of the 'clans' already discussed, may be counted to a third and larger social group, originating about a century ago when the daughters of 'No Name' Heron[1] and Taiso Boswell began to marry and bear families. According to Wester Boswell, who was Taiso's son—the only one besides Ned—these two 'ancient men' were cousins,[2] and there is reason to think that both belonged at first to a loosely-knit 'clan' based essentially on relationship to or through female Bosses and Boswells,[3] having as fellow-members of it Edmund Boss, Jim Williams, Leshi Heron, the undetermined parents of 'Stumpy' Frank and of Trēci Heron, Ambrose Smith's father (before his marriage), and, if one may hazard a pure conjecture, Fowk Gray. Be that as it may, they were constant companions from middle age onwards, and by the time they lost their lives during a thunderstorm at Tetford, in Lincolnshire, in 1831, a new 'clan' or 'sub-clan,' consisting of their daughters' households, had arisen. Possibly it was not then, or for some considerable time later, clearly marked off from certain other families with Boss blood in them, usually in the female line;[4] and very probably its two halves retained a limited distinctness: but in view of the close association of 'No Name' and Taiso, and their sons-in-law, which is not in doubt, and in the light of subsequent developments, there is justification, to my mind, for treating it as a complete and single social unit, comparable with the John Chilcott-Ambrose Smith 'clan.' Definite leadership was lacking, it would seem—at any rate after the disaster at Tetford; and nothing more than free and informal adhesion to one another on

[1] For Herons and Youngs mentioned in this paper *vide* the Heron pedigree, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii., facing p. 81 ; also p. 87 of the same volume.

[2] Smart and Crofton: *Dialect of the English Gypsies* (London, 1875), p. 246. 'No Name' was son of Francis Heron: Taiso's parents were Shadrach Boswell and Cinderella Wood. Cinderella, about whom opinions differ as to whether she was a Gypsy, a *poš-rat*, or a gorgio, kept the Fountain Inn, Southwark, during the latter part of her life.

[3] Particularly those Boswells who contracted their surname to Boss (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 17), as will be shown later. Some of them figure at the foot of Hall's Heron pedigree, others in a pedigree he published in the *Gypsy and Folk-Lore Gazette*, vol. i. p. 120.

[4] If these had been included in the discussion which follows, the general conclusions reached would not have been materially different.

the part of its members should be assumed: yet there was adhesion, and a sense of oneness, as there is to-day among modern representatives of the 'clan.'

Taiso Boswell had but one wife, Sophia Heron, daughter of 'No Name's' eldest brother, Dick. She bore him six girls—Maria, Lucy, Sēji, Betsy, Dorĭlia, and Delèta.[1] 'No Name,' on the other hand, had several wives, some of them at the same time, including his niece, Sophia Heron, by whom he is credited with a daughter (whose name has been given, wrongly I think, as Sēji); Rose Lovell, the mother of Eldorai, Eliza, Waddi, Amelia, and Sarah; and two closely related women, Sibella Smith, *alias* Boss, and Sēni Boss, *alias* Smith, one of whom, almost certainly Sibella, bore him two more daughters—Emanaia and Hannah.[2] Rose and Sibella were probably his only permanent wives in later life, for Sēni had a family by Leshi Heron after her supposed alliance with 'No Name.' The latter's sons are of no concern here, for like Ned and Wester Boswell they dropped out of the 'clan' on taking wives.

Appended is a list of the known marriages contracted by daughters of 'No Name' and Taiso, temporary husbands being distinguished by italics.

1. Emanaia Heron, Boss, or Smith = 'Big' Frank Heron.
2. Hannah Heron, Boss, or Smith = (1) '*Big*' *Frank Heron.*
   (2) 'Kaki' Sam Boswell.
3. Eldorai Heron = 'Stumpy' Frank Heron.
4. Eliza Heron = (1) *Jack Gray* (son of Fowk).
   (2) Ōseri Gray (son of Fowk).
5. Waddi Heron = (1) Jack Gray (son of Fowk).
   (2) Ōti Printer.
6. Amelia Heron = Piramus Gray (son of Fowk).
7. Sarah Heron = (1) *Wester Boswell* (son of Taiso).
   (2) Major Boswell (U.S.A.).
   (3) [? Jack, or Major] Lovell.[3]
8. Maria Boswell = (1) *David Williams* (son of Jim) (U.S.A.).
   (2) Jack Gray (son of Fowk).

[1] *Smart and Crofton, op. cit.*, p. 253, where read Joshua for Jasper Gray.

[2] At the time Hall published his Heron pedigree he was still uncertain on a few points connected with the descendants of 'No Name' and the two Frank Herons designated 'Big' and 'Stumpy.' The difficulties have since been explored, and a few changes are necessary, whilst one or two additions can now be safely made.

[3] The evidence in favour of substituting Major for Jack is very strong, but hardly conclusive.

9. Lucy Boswell (U.S.A.) = Riley Boss, or Boswell (son of Leshi Heron and Sēni Boss).
10. Sēji Boswell (U.S.A.) = Joseph Smith (U.S.A.).
11. Betsy Boswell (U.S.A.) = Job Williams (son of Jim) (U.S.A.).
12. Dorīlia Boswell = Khulai Heron.
13. Delēta Boswell = Allen Boswell (son of Taiso's brother, Abel).

The daughter of 'No Name' and Sophia Heron of whom mention has been made is said to have lived successively with Job and David Williams; and Jack Gray raised a further family by Maria Boswell's daughter, Harriet Williams, approximately contemporary with the one Maria herself bore him.

It is significant that this man had children by as many as four members of the 'clan,' and that 'Big' Frank Heron, and probably Job and David Williams, exchanged one member of it for another. Khulai Heron, it may be added, formed an additional alliance with Lucy, daughter of Job Williams and Betsy Boswell, at a time when his more permanent wife was still alive, I believe. Riley Boswell added a second, and even a third, wife to his retinue; and after a time Lucy separated from him, retaining her children, as Gypsy women always do under such circumstances. Temporary marriages have already been noted. Apart from these, 'Big' Frank Heron, 'Kaki' Sam Boswell, and Major Boswell all passed on sooner or later to other women outside the 'clan,' leaving their children behind them. Their new families were, of course, no part of the 'clan,' whose modern representatives, in fact, are mostly unaware of their existence; as they are of Allen Boswell's descendants, for Allen lost his wife, Delēta, very early, and on remarrying appears to have formed new associations despite his being nephew to Taiso.

In the next generation matrimonial alliances were very much more stable, and the centre of interest passes to the choice of permanent partners. The total strength of the generation, including Jack Gray's progeny by Harriet Williams, but omitting the two children of Allen and Delēta Boswell, together with four doubtfully credited to Hannah Heron, was somewhere about ninety. Emigration, settlement, celibacy, and early death reduce the number for whom lasting marriages can be given to fifty-five; and when those who did not wed Gypsies are deducted forty-five remain. Of these as many as twenty mated together, the couples being first cousins in every case save one; whilst three more

married within the 'clan,' though outside their own generation of it. The number of external marriages was twenty-five. Ten of them were with proved kindred, the kinship being traceable through the father twice, through the mother every time; and to these may be added two alliances with near connections, namely a son (by '*Yoki*' Shūri) and a niece of Riley Boss. There were six further marriages with Bosses or Boswells, to four of whom relationship is claimed, though not fully established; and three with Lovells, one of whom was probably akin to her husband. This leaves a residue of three, one with a Gray of uncertain ancestry, one with a Pinfold, and one with a Taylor.

So far as can be judged in the presence of obscuring factors, such as lack of definite organisation, and continued migration to America, the rule by which a husband joins his wife's kindred was generally observed when members of the 'clan' married outside it. Notable adhesions due to it were Golias Heron, Perun Young (or Heron), Oscar Boswell, Manuel Boswell, and Isaac Heron, the two last named, however, preserving some sort of independence it would seem. Certain losses due to the same cause may be put at four or five, one of special interest being that of Būi Boswell, who, favoured with a bevy of ten fine girls, all very fond of him in spite of his peculiarities, attempted to found a new maternal 'clan.' If he had been wise he might have succeeded, but in nothing did he show more folly than in thinking he could command sons-in-law like dogs, and still keep them attached to him, unless it was in seeking aid of the police to compel their return when they left him, as he did on two or three occasions to my knowledge. To what lengths he went in the treatment of his sons-in-law it is difficult to say. Personally, I do not believe all the tales that are told of his attempting to flog and starve them into submission, nor of his taking their money from them; but he certainly did dismiss two who failed to meet with his approval, forcing his daughters to accept their dismissal. Both were gorgios, however.

About 1870 emigration of members of the 'clan' came to an end. It had carried away the entire families of Lucy, Sēji, and Betsy Boswell, except Delenda Williams; and had thinned others, notably those of Maria Boswell and Emanaia Heron. The same year, 1870, may also be taken as an approximate date for the final moving of the 'clan' away from East Anglia, Fenland, and the Black Country, and its concentration in northern England, which was not new territory by any means. Because they were left behind in

Norfolk, Eliza Heron's family (nearly all of whom married gorgios), and Waddi Heron's brood (very few of whom travelled), need not be taken into consideration at any later time; whilst by 1880, if not earlier, Sarah Heron was virtually unrepresented in the 'clan,' so far as I can discover. In all, twenty-seven of the forty-five grandchildren of 'No Name' and Taiso whose Gypsy marriages were analysed must be written off as losses by 1880, emigration to America accounting for thirteen. Included in this total are two or three persons about whom I am doubtful.

Of the eighteen who are left ten had paired (husband and wife being first cousins in every case), and three more married within the 'clan.' A list follows, in which children and maternal grandchildren of daughters of 'No Name' and Taiso bear the same numbers as their mothers or maternal grandmothers in my earlier enumeration of them. When the person married was not a member of the 'clan,' but was a maternal kinsman or kinswoman, the letter 'm' is attached.

Muldobriar Heron (1) = Maireni Heron (3).
Elijah Heron (1) = Daiena Heron (3).
Taimi Boswell (2) = (1) Lenda Heron (6).
(2) Cashi Lovell (late in life).
Delorēni Heron (3) = Manuel Boswell.
Tom Gray (6) = Caroline Gray (8).
Sinfai Gray (6) = Isaac Heron (m.).
Eliza Gray (8) = (1) Perun Young, or Heron (m.).
= (2) Oscar Boswell (m.).
Johnny Gray (8) = Wasti Lee (m.).
Joshua Gray (8) = Delenda Williams (11).
Ōti Gray (8) = Golias Heron (m.).
Reuben (Yōben) Heron (12) = Trēnit Heron (6).
Edward (Hedji) Heron (12) = Bella Gray (8).
Saiēra (Saiki) Heron (12) = Ēros Heron (8).

Lenda and Trēnit Heron were daughters of Isaac and Sinfai; Ēros is a son of Golias and Ōti.

Johnny Gray's inclusion in the above list is an apparent rather than a real exception to the rule of matrilocal marriage, his mother-in-law, Charlotte Hammond, whom some of the best authorities count a half-blood Boss or Boswell, not a half-blood Heron,[1] being an adherent of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso

[1] So far as I know, the presence of Charlotte Hammond in the Heron pedigree rests on the sole authority of Isaac Heron, against whom there are ranged Joshua

Boswell 'clan.' He and his brother Joshua, and Elijah Heron, all of whom became settled, or practically so, on the Lancashire coast, whilst their fellow 'clan' members favoured the eastern side of the Pennines, and in many instances pushed on into Scotland and Northern Ireland, have either no descendants living, or none travelling; whilst Eliza Gray's family is running out. The remaining couples, though not prolific of descendants, have all contributed substantially to the maintenance of the 'clan,' which, as of old, has conserved, and is conserving, its character by frequent in-marriage, and the restriction of external unions within a narrow circle. The later external alliances have, on the whole, made for greater strength, for whilst women marrying out have almost invariably added their husbands to the 'clan,' male members under similar circumstances have as often as not remained within it. The new blood that has told most is nearly all Boss, or Boswell, and is confined largely to the family of Josiah Boswell and Betsy Boss, which migrated to Scotland following Josiah's death in 1874. Four sons and two daughters of Betsy have married into the 'clan,' and with one doubtful exception all have been absorbed. In addition, Betsy's nephew, Charlie Boswell, son of Nelson Boswell and Jane Boss of Derby, has become a member, by adoption. Betsy and Jane Boss were sisters, and granddaughters in the female line of Edmund Boss, a suggested member of the dimly discerned group to which 'No Name' Heron and Taiso Boswell seem to have belonged originally.

Apart from its male Boss-Boswell members this early 'clan,' as already stated, was apparently based on relationship to Boss-Boswell women. Jim Williams' wife has been recorded from good authorities both as Hannah Smith and as Hannah Boss, or Boswell, which rather points to kinship with Sēni Boss, *alias* Smith, and Sibella Smith, *alias* Boss, wives of 'No Name.' Leshi Heron was Sēni Boss's second husband. 'Stumpy' Frank Heron's mother is said to have been a Boss, and so is Trēci Heron's; whilst Ambrose Smith's father was son of Constance Boss, a first cousin to Edmund, it is claimed. Who Fowk Gray's wife was is an

Gray, brother-in-law of Charlotte's daughter, Wasti; Elijah Heron, whose brother, Joshua, lived at one time with Wasti's sister, Waini; and several other members of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell clan. Charlotte herself gave her name as 'Boz' when interviewed by J. Horsfall Turner (*Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, i. 258), but this may have been because Riley Boss, or Boswell, was one of her husbands. Charlotte often travelled with Maria Boswell, Eldorai Heron, and other daughters of 'No Name' and Taiso.

unsolved mystery, and I have no information more precise about Edmund Boss's marriage than that it was to a Boss-Boswell kinswoman.[1]

Further discussion of the composition of this too remote 'clan' would be unprofitable. Indeed, I have only reverted to it to make more intelligible some intended remarks on emigration to America of Bosses and Boswells, Herons, Grays, Smiths, and Williams, sixty to seventy of whom are known to have left this country in two or three parties between the years 1855 and 1870. A first inspection of the list of emigrants, included in which are members of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' would seem to show that a desire to emigrate was largely random in its incidence. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals that practically every migrant who was not a Boss, or Boswell of a family some of whose members used the shorter name, was either descended in the female line from one, or was married to, and more usually the husband of, such a person.

The Smiths were the husband and children of Sēji Boswell, daughter of Taiso (whose brother, Abel, called himself Boss); and the Grays, except the younger Ōseri who married a Boswell, had Sēji's sister, Maria, for their mother. No other Smiths appear, and no further Grays, though our knowledge of this family is extensive. As already indicated Taiso's daughters, Lucy, wife of Riley Boss, or Boswell, and Betsy, wife of Job Williams, also emigrated, together with their families (omitting Delenda Williams). The only other Boswells of this breed who went were Taiso's brother, Manful, and his family, the mother of whom was Rebecca ('*Yoki* Diddly') Williams, daughter of Jim, a majority of whose known descendants figure on the list. Accompanying Rebecca was the daughter, Graveleni, she had previously borne to Jim Buckland. Graveleni's husband was Sam Boswell, grandson of Lawrence, among whose descendants Sam and his children were the only migrants, except that Lias's sister, Emily, went much later with her gorgio husband, a printer by trade. Again, among the Boswells undeniably called 'Kaks'[2] migration was limited to 'Black'

[1] In the absence of Christian names, and relationships genealogically proven, some of these assertions are, perhaps, of doubtful value. All I can say is that I have consulted the persons most likely to know, and weighed their statements carefully.

[2] The descendants of Edmund Boss's brother, John, who appears to have lost caste through marrying a low-class gypsy or 'mumper.' For an attempt to define the 'Kaks' see *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 17.

Ambrose and his married children; and 'Black' Ambrose's wife was Pâni Boss, daughter of Leshi and Sēni, and sister to Riley, whose daughter, Separi, by his second wife, '*Yoki*' Shuri Smith, also emigrated.

Her husband was Frampton Heron, son of Sarah Boss, another daughter of Leshi and Sēni. Sarah had married Dick Heron's son, Lusha, on whose death *circa* 1860 she and all her descendants went to America. About the same time Lusha's brother, Reynolds, husband of Edmund Boss's daughter, Peggy, left this country with most of his family, to be followed later by the remainder of it. Six children of Lusha and Reynolds took husbands or wives with them, of whom three were Bosses, and three grandchildren in the female line of either Taiso Boswell or his sister Winifred, the latter of whom married Dick Heron's son, Miller. In 1870 or thereabouts Trēci, widow of Dover Heron, sailed for America, accompanied by all her descendants, and by the Herons I have counted to the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' namely part of the offspring of 'Stumpy' Frank, and of 'Big' Frank's best-known wife, Emanaia Heron, Smith, or Boss. This completes the enumeration of male Herons in the generation of Francis' grandchildren for whom connection with Bosses has been ascertained, except that Tom should be added because of his marriage to Miller's daughter, Paizeni; and it completes at the same time the list of Heron migrants, excepting Mēzi, daughter of 'Handsome' William by a wife whose surname is unknown. It also exhausts my list of emigrants, which arranged in this way shows that the desire to emigrate was anything but random in its incidence.

Dick Heron, eldest son of Francis, and the father of sixteen children besides Lusha, Reynolds, William, Miller, Tom, and Dover, was a headman of great authority in his day, ruling those who adhered to him with a high and a heavy hand. One thing is of special interest about him—his apparent objection to losing sons and grandsons when they married,[1] to avoid which he is said to have organised wife-getting, or (as Joshua Gray had it) wife-stealing, expeditions. Periodically he would travel round the

[1] It is clear that none of Dick Heron's known sons-in-law formed part of his 'clan.' Nor did they adhere to one another at all tenaciously. Dick's ambition, if I read the signs aright, was to build up a paternal 'clan' of Herons. Possibly he was free from Boss-Boswell blood—there is a strong suspicion that 'No Name,' for whom Wester Boswell claimed kinship to his father, Taiso, was only half-brother to him—which more than any other seems to have conferred a preference for matriliny and matrilocy, except, perhaps, East Anglian Smith blood.

country, said Joshua, accompanied by youths of marriageable age, ready equipped with everything needful for married life down to the kettle and tea-things; and when they came upon a likely girl they carried her off willy-nilly, discarding her subsequently with as little ceremony if she failed to give satisfaction. Perhaps this is exaggerated, or even untrue. Whether it is or not, by 1870 the Dick Heron 'clan' had dwindled almost to nothing (unless the Welsh Herons are counted to it with dubious justification), and one of the main causes undoubtedly was the ultimate adhesion of most of Dick's sons and grandsons to their wives' kindred.

As a further illustration of this tendency towards matrilocal marriage some particulars will be given about Elijah Boswell and William Gray, two friends who travelled chiefly in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and the East Riding. Elijah, according to his daughter, Harriet, was son of an older Elijah Boswell, and of Elizabeth Smith. His wives were Harriet Metcalf, a gorgio, and Charlotte, Alice, and Delizanna Smith, daughters of William Smith and a Booth,[1] who had migrated northwards from Northamptonshire. He had twenty-one known children and some others, most of whom used (or use) the surname Smith. William Gray, possibly a half-brother of Fowk, than whom he was very much younger, also had four wives, and again three of them were Smiths of Northamptonshire origin, the fourth being Lūmi Boyling. His Smith wives were Berthēni and Vaithi, two sisters, and Charlotte, probably a third sister, and certainly first cousin to Elijah Boswell's trio. His known children, besides which there were others, number thirteen, all of whom used (or use) the surname Gray.

By all accounts these two men became nearly if not quite detached from their Boswell and Gray relations, except that Elijah maintained some sort of contact with his own brothers and sisters, who were of course half-blood Smiths, and were in addition married to Smiths for the most part. On the other hand, they associated freely with the migrant Northamptonshire and Leicestershire Smiths and their allied and tributary families, of which the Booths, Charlottes, and Mobbs may be cited as examples. An analysis of the marriages of their children fully bears out this contention, for within the group consisting of the two series of families eight persons paired off, whilst of the twenty remaining marriages with Gypsies or 'mumpers' in this generation fourteen

[1] This information, and most of that given immediately afterwards, was kindly supplied by the Rev. George Hall.

are with Smiths or the offspring of Smith women, two with Kings, and one each with a Boyling, a Brown, a 'Kak,' and a Boswell of uncertain ancestry. The descendants of these marriages may justly be counted part of a large, indefinite 'clan' based essentially on common descent from female Smith ancestors.

Investigation of the Gypsy families of southern and western England, and Wales, does not reveal a state of affairs resembling that described for some of the more important families having a present or former connection with the eastern side of the country. Partly, perhaps, this is due to lack of adequate knowledge, but not entirely, for the Woods, Locks, Welsh Lees, and Bucklands, at any rate, have been studied with considerable thoroughness. The Woods, as is generally known, deliberately isolated themselves; and Henry Lock, presumably, severed family ties as completely as he could: but even so it is a little remarkable that none of the families specifically mentioned yields any satisfactory evidence of the former existence of maternal 'clans.'[1] Among the Locks the several groups descended from Henry's sons are out of touch with, and almost unknown to, one another; among the Lees the closest association is found between the descendants of two brothers who married two sisters; in all the families children resulting from a brief union were, and are, normally brought up by the mother. But facts like these, by themselves, prove nothing. Possibly a West Country and West Midland Smith-Lovell complex of which we are aware might prove to bear the stamp of matrilineal society in decay if more was known about it, but its obscurities have not been made plain, and there is little prospect that they ever will be.

Among English Gypsies, and most others for that matter, the mother is usually the main supporter of the family, as she always has been, presumably. If, therefore, organisation into maternal 'clans' was once customary, a conclusion inevitably suggested by the evidence presented, here was one factor favourable to its

[1] Since writing the above I have been reminded of Mairik Lock's descendants. Mairik, the eldest known son of Henry Lock, had by his wife, Mary [? Smith], two sons and a considerable number of daughters, who with their wives and husbands formed the first generation of a 'clan' that was, and is, as definite as most, and in which in-marriage has been, and is, of frequent occurrence. It would seem that all Mairik's sons-in-law, who bore the names Smith (3), Davis, Stevens, Scarrett, Burton, and Dougherty, entered the 'clan,' but that his sons, Lucas and Adam, did not leave it on marrying respectively Anis Draper and a woman called Dixon.

continuance. But as it is the only one, besides conservatism, that is at all obvious no surprise need be felt that decay set in, resulting gradually in a weakening of the boundaries between the different social groups, until finally anything resembling a 'clan' became difficult to discern. Confusion of another kind would readily arise too, for if a man belonging to a social group that retained matrilocy as a general principle married a woman whose kindred had no strong leaning towards it, he might easily become an exception to the rule obtaining among his own kindred.

But too much must not be put down to recent decay. It is quite possible, for instance, that sons of headmen were always exempt from the necessity of joining their wives' 'clans,' and that a tendency for 'clans' to split when they reached a certain size, which would give rise to a large number of petty rulers and privileged sons, is as old as the hills. Nor should it be lightly assumed that English Gypsy 'clans' ever conformed to the anthropologists' definition of a clan as an exogamous division of a tribe. If they did, departure from it can hardly be regarded as recent, in view of the prevalence of in-marriage, to which attention has been drawn in the preceding discussion. Indeed, so far does this, and marriage with other near kindred and close connections, go, that approximation towards endogamous castes is noticeable in some instances. To the question of marriage with near kindred, as to another that has been raised incidentally—the temporary character of many marriages contracted early in life—I hope to return in a subsequent paper, in which polygamy among English Gypsies will also be examined, and other sociological aspects of English Gypsy marriage not unconnected with matriliny or matrilocy.

Further information as to social polity and organisation, or vestiges of them, found among Continental Gypsy stocks is badly needed. From a limited experience of foreign Gypsies visiting England recently I feel sure a great deal can be learned, and am hopeful that investigation will support the views to which I incline—that the Gypsies were originally a matrilineal people practising matrilocal marriage, either fully or partially, and that they had a definite leaning, more or less neutralised in Orthodox and Roman Catholic countries, towards marriage with near kindred. If Gypsy society once had, as I believe, a maternal basis it must have arisen a very long time ago, for matriliny in India to-day is looked upon as a pre-Aryan survival, whilst in Western

Asia and Europe it seems to have been almost non-existent when the Gypsies passed on their way westward.[1]

REVIEW

Historia y Costumbres de los Gitanos, etc. Por F. M. PABANÓ. Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, Editores. 1915.

THE author of this book tells us that he became interested in Gypsies when a boy, and that subsequently, as a governor of prisons for a period of thirty years, he was brought into frequent contact with persons of that race. With much frankness he admits that all attempts, by means of kindness shown or help given, to extract information from his prisoners were in vain, and so he had to fall back upon his own powers of observation, and, as he adds with equal frankness, the works of earlier writers.

The book opens with a historical sketch of the race in general, and of the Spanish branch in particular, which he asserts will certainly be absorbed sooner or later by the native race. Exception may be here taken to the statement: 'Inglaterra los nombra *egipciacos, gipcies* o *gipsies* (corrupcion de egipcios).' No doubt some writers still spell the word *gipsies*, but the other forms can hardly be accepted as English. Further on, after quoting, and justifying, the doubt of San Francisco de Sales, 'si los gitanos son cristianos,' he describes a Gypsy christening, and says, 'English Gypsies in such cases light three candles, each one marked with a name, one of which must be that of a person in the Bible, and the candle which lasts longest determines the name to be given to the child,' adding later that in England they barely number ten thousand.

Then comes the most important part of the book, entitled 'Tales Old and New,' and consisting of short stories and poems. These contain Gypsy anathemas, which are many and expressive, witty sayings, and *timos*. This word is not given in the vocabulary, but is no doubt connected with *timonar=engañar*, i.e. *to deceive, cheat*, there cited from the *germanía*. A few of these may be given.

One is a variant of the English jest on a cab horse. A man was dressing down his mule, and a Gypsy asked, 'Are you going

[1] For an authoritative account of the present and former provenance of matrilineal institutions E. S. Hartland's *Primitive Society* may be consulted.

to a dance to-night?' 'What do you mean?' 'Well, I see you are polishing up your harp.'

A long-nosed judge sent a Gypsy to prison. 'Well, well,' quoth the prisoner, 'you're a fine judge! What a pity your worship can't be a king!' 'Why not?' incautiously inquired his lordship. '*Poi que antonse la narí e su mersé no cabiría en la monea*' (Because there wouldn't be room on the coins for you—and your nose).

A Gypsy hung up a placard, 'For 4 cuartos can be seen *la Karaba*.' 'Why,' cried a visitor emerging indignant, 'it's only a mule dying of old age.' 'Just so,' agreed the exhibiter, '*Eza é la q' araba y ya no pué ará máz*' (That is she who ploughed and now cannot plough any more).

To a customer who rejected one animal after another. 'Look here, my friend, if this isn't a proper ass go and ask your father and mother to make one to suit you.'

Some perhaps might see a certain appropriateness in the following answer. 'Who made the world?' 'Who? why the Government, of course! *Pos er Gobiesmo, que es aquí er que jase tóo lo malo!*' It might be libellous to translate.

Finally, as an instance of a curse, may be cited, 'God grant that your worship may not die either in heaven or on earth!' (*i.e.* may you be hanged—between the two).

Then comes a short article on the language, from which the following statement may be quoted: 'Many verbs admit the further termination *elar* or *erar*, to express with greater force and energy the action which they represent.' A few examples are given, including '*Saludisar*=SALUDAR; y *Saludisarar*=SALUDAR repetidamente.' '*Sinar*=SER, ESTAR; *sinelar*=EXISTIR, VIVIR: y *Sinarar*=DETENER, PARAR, QUEDAR' (to stop, stay, remain). Finally we have a Diccionario Español—Gitano—Germanesco, mainly drawn, as Señor Pabanó tells us, from the works of Rebolledo, Hidalgo, and others, of which it is enough to say that it does not supply the lack, lamented on an earlier page, of a complete vocabulary of the *germanía*, or, it may be added, of the *caló*. The author would have done well to make his dictionary include all the words to be found in the second part, and to have added some grammatical notes explaining, for instance, how *permita el cielo* becomes *premita er sielo, hinchado, jincháo, dice, 'ise*, and so forth.

HERBERT W. GREENE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

10.—The Gypsy in Modern Greek Proverbs

Few Gypsy-lorists are probably familiar with the great though unfinished collections of modern Greek folk-lore published by Politis. In his *Παροιμίαι* (Athens, 1899-1902) I have noticed forty-three proverbial sayings,[1] many of them of course but slight variants of identical themes, which refer to Gypsies. Since popular sayings reflect the popular attitude of mind, a summary of them may be of interest.

The popular view of Gypsies is evidently unfavourable. Poverty, improvidence and cowardice are among the qualities which the proverbs emphasise. 'Has the Gypsy ashes?' is a theme repeated in many minor variations which alludes to the extreme poverty and the homeless and hearthless condition of the Gypsy. To 'send to the Gypsy for rennet' or 'for yeast' is to embark upon a wild goose chase. 'Do not look for a china cupboard in a Gypsy's hut' is a similar Turkish proverb. 'As miserable as the Gypsy woman who burned the cotton' derives its point from the fact that a Gypsy woman has no use for cotton. 'A house as overloaded as a Gypsy's hut' is used sarcastically of those who do not possess even the most necessary articles of furniture. 'The Gypsy's house is on fire and the Gypsies make merry' expresses the indifference to fate of those who have nothing to lose. 'A Gypsy wedding' is used of an uproarious and unseemly merrymaking or of hospitality which is ostentatious but vulgar. It is also used ironically in self-depreciation by a host who has in fact spared no expense, in the sense 'it is not much of an entertainment, though it is the best poor people like us could manage.'

'When the Gypsy takes the sweetmeat out of the cupboard he cannot sleep,' and 'the Gypsy who has honey does not make leisure to enjoy it,' are two proverbial sayings the moral of which is that when the very poor get some unexpected windfall they spend it at once, too quickly to enjoy it, and lay aside nothing for the future.

A vulgarly over-dressed woman is a 'dressed up Gypsy.' Ill-breeding will out, and a boor cannot change his nature. 'In the Gypsy's yard a scented tree is in bloom; whether it has flowers on it or whether it has not, it stinks of Gypsy.' 'A Gypsy cannot become a priest, and if he does he cannot give a blessing.' 'If a Gypsy becomes a priest do not kiss his hand; however much of a priest he may be, he will smell of Gypsy.'

A very common proverb which is current also in Albania refers to the story of the Gypsy who was elected to be king. As the people were taking him to be crowned, he looked round and exclaimed, 'What splendid trees for making charcoal!' or 'What fine sieves one could make of those!'[2] The people, therefore, realising that change of condition does not alter character, packed the king-elect about his business. 'They put the Gypsy in a palace, and he longed for his hut' points a similar moral.

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[1] The references are vol. ii. pp. 586-7 *s.v.* *ἀτσίγγανος*, Nos. 1-6; iii. p. 152 *s.v.* *βλέπω*, No. 43; iii. p. 374 *s.v.* *γάμος*, Nos. 20-21; iv. pp. 271-8 *s.vv.* *γύφτικος*, Nos. 1-3, *γύφτος*, Nos. 1-30, *γυφτοχῶρι*, No. 1.

[2] Charcoal is the smith's fuel. 'In the Orient sieve-making for the country farmers is entirely in the hands of the Gypsies,' Sinclair, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. p. 203. Cf. Paspati, *Etudes*, pp. 16, 17; Patkanoff in *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. pp. 238, 241, 242; Von Luschan, *J. R. A. I.*, xli. p. 227. The Armenian *Loms* tell a curious story that the ancestor of the Gypsy sieve-makers of Armenia was one of the disciples to whom Christ gave a handful of hairs from His head and from these the first sieve was made.

Gypsies are thought to be too proud to fight. 'A Gypsy cannot carry a drum' was the excuse given by the Gypsy for running away in battle. 'The Gypsy gives the blow, the Gypsy shouts' is said of an aggressor who represents himself as aggrieved. 'And did I eat your anvil, Gypsy?' refers to the story of a wolf who was arraigned for punishment. Among his accusers was a Gypsy to whom he had done no harm. 'I ate, it is true, the sheep of this man and the ox of that man,' complained the wolf, 'but did I eat your anvil or your bellows, Gypsy?' Gypsies are of course the smiths of the Near East, so much so that Gypsy in the vernacular means tinker or smith. Thus Γυφτικά, which von Hahn translates the Gypsy quarter,[1] means rather the tinkers' quarter. In a story from the same island, Syra, the hero takes a cauldron to be mended to the tinker (*τὸ πήανε σ'τὸν ἀζίγκανο*).[2] The word has become generic of a trade. Similarly, among the Koutso Vlachs of Pindus 'Gypsy' is the generic word for musician.[3]

'Like the Gypsy's children' is explained by the story of the two sons of the Gypsy, one of whom prophesied 'it will rain to-morrow,' and the other 'it will not rain.'[4] In consequence one of the two was always right. 'Hi, Gypsy, what about your baggy (?) breeks!'[5]—'They are Turkish too, my Aga.' The story runs that a Gypsy was being led off to be tried for theft. He had determined not to confess. On the way a spark fell on his breeches, and his guards shouted out to him, 'Your breeches, Gypsy!' The Gypsy was startled and frightened and lost his head, confessing by his reply that they too were Turkish, *i.e.* stolen.

'Woman's wedding, Gypsy wake' implies that in the preparations for the wedding in the house of the bride's father there is a great deal of noise, activity and confusion without real enjoyment. (It may be remembered that in modern Greece the parents lose not only their daughter but the dowry with which they have bought her a husband.) They are, therefore, said to be like the Gypsy wake in which there is noisy celebration but no real grief.

W. R. Halliday.

11.—A Tinker Folk-Tale

The following outline of a folk-tale was sent me by Miss E. C. Colquhoun, Secretary of the Central Committee on the Welfare of Tinkers. The story was told to Miss Colquhoun on August 2, 1919, by Clementine M'Callum or M'Arthur, who had heard it from her father, a M'Callum of Skye.

A certain King set a task to one of his subjects, involving three labours: (1) to find in the sea a long-lost ring; (2) to bring back from beyond the mountains of fire the bottle of the water of death and the bottle of the water of beauty; (3) to enter the abode of the Beauty Queen of the Cannibal Islands, guarded by three

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[1] Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Maerchen*, No. 64, variant 3, vol. ii. p. 268.

[2] Pio, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 225.

[3] 'It is worth noting that among the Vlachs such musicians whatever their race, and they are now usually Greeks, are invariably spoken of as Gipsies, just as the Greeks call shepherds Vlachs.'—Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (London, 1914), p. 58. Gypsy musicians are again mentioned, *ibid.*, p. 181.

[4] "When it will rain and what will happen on the morrow are two of the five things which only Allah knows."—*Koran*, xxxi., 34, see *Arabian Nights* (Burton-Smithers), iv., pp. 182-3 with Burton's note.

[5] Φουντολόβρακαις. I do not know the accurate meaning of this word. The proverb and its explanation seem very obscure.

many-headed giants, and [? bring her back to the King]. Failure to perform these tasks to be punished by beheading.

(1) In searching for the ring, the man came upon a trout which was being attacked and worsted by an eel. He defended the trout, rescued it and put it in a little pool by itself, apart from the sea where the eels were, supplied it with food and gave it a comfortable home. In return, the trout undertook to find the long-lost ring. 'Pluck a scale from my side,' said the trout, 'and watch it while I am away. If it turns red throughout, I shall have failed. If any part remains unreddened, I shall succeed and bring back the ring.' While the man watched, the scale reddened, but not completely. All was well. The ring was found and brought to him by the trout, and the first of his labours was performed.

(2) He travelled towards the fiery mountains, but on coming near, found them quite impassable. Felt despairing. 'I shall fail and be beheaded,' he said to himself. Suddenly there appeared to him a dove in conflict with a crow, which was about to destroy the dove. The man intervened, and saved the dove. In gratitude, the dove undertook to fly across the fiery mountains and bring back the bottles of the water of death and the water of beauty. 'Pluck a feather from my breast,' said the dove, 'and watch it while I am away. If it burns red throughout, I shall have failed. If any part remains unreddened, I shall succeed and bring back the water.' It reddened, but not completely, and presently back flew the dove with a small bottle tied to each side. 'Take these off,' said the dove. And the second labour was performed.

(3) Great difficulty was encountered in gaining an entrance to the Queen's abode. The giants had, some of them, five heads or more. They were, however, slain with a sword belonging to one of them, as they lay asleep. The Queen was now brought home to the King with great pomp and splendour—knights in resplendent armour riding in her train. Jealousy seized the King on seeing her riding with the hero. [It was not clear to me whether the promised reward of the labours had been the Queen's hand, or whether the man was sent by the King to fetch the Queen as a bride for himself. In any case, the King at this point had decided *he* was going to marry the Queen.] The Queen ordered one of the bottles to be administered to the King. He drank it eagerly, supposing it to be the water of beauty: it was, however, the water of death. The water of beauty was given to the hero of the story, who won the Queen for his bride.

[The 'moral' seemed to be strongly impressed on the mind of the narrator, that jealousy and cruelty are followed by retribution. She told me her father had a fund of stories which he loved to narrate, and she, as a girl, to listen to.]

This story is a variant of others familiar to students of Gypsy folk-tales. For the grateful fish compare *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 150-6, viii. 211, and F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, 108; for the water of healing see 'The Bad Mother,' *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 28, and Groome, *G. F.-T.*, 27. It is to be hoped that Miss Colquhoun will be successful in garnering a big harvest of tinker folk-tales.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

Stromness, 15*th Dec.* 1919.

12.—STRAY NOTES ON GYPSIES FROM BURTON'S TRANSLATION OF 'THE THOUSAND NIGHTS AND A NIGHT'

Vol. i. p. 214 [Benares edition]. 'These Ghawází are mostly Gypsies who pretend to be Moslems; and they have been confused with the Almahs or Moslem dancing-girls proper (Awálim, plur. of Alimah, a learned feminine) by a host of travellers. They call themselves Barámikah or Barmecides only to affect Persian origin. Under native rule they were perpetually being banished from and returning to Cairo ("Pilgrimage." i, 202). Lane (M. E., chapts. xviii. and xix.) discusses the

subject, and would derive Al'mah, often so pronounced, from Heb. Almah, girl, virgin, singing-girl, hence he would translate Al-Alamoth shir (Psalm xlvi.) and Nebalim al-alamoth (1 Chron., xv. 20) by a "song for singing-girls" and "harps for singing-girls." He quotes also St. Jerome as authority that Alma in Punic (Phœnician) signified a virgin, not a common article, I may observe, amongst singing-girls. I shall notice in a future page Burckhardt's description of the Ghawazi, p. 173, "Arabic Proverbs," etc., etc. Second Edition. London: Quaritch, 1875.'

The substance of this note is repeated again at p. 119, vol. iii. of *Supplemental Nights*.

Vol. iii. p. 145. 'Arab. "Háwí" = a juggler who plays tricks with snakes: he is mostly a Gypsy. The "recompense" the man expects is the golden treasure which the ensorcelled snake is supposed to guard. This idea is as old as the Dragon in the Garden of the Hesperides—and older.'

Vol. viii. p. 115. '. . . Al-Mas'údi tells us that in Arabia were public prostitutes (Baghâyá), even before the days of the Apostle, who affected certain quarters as in our day the Tartúshah of Alexandria and the Hosh Bardak of Cairo. Here says Herr Carlo Landberg (p. 57, "Syrian Proverbs") "Elles parlent une langue toute à elle." So pretentious and dogmatic a writer as the author of "Proverbes et Dictons de la Province de Syrie," ought surely to have known that the Hosh Bardak is the headquarters of the Cairene Gypsies.'

Vol. ix. p. 56. 'Arab. "Háwi" from "Hayyah," a serpent. See vol. iii. 145. Most of the Egyptian snake-charmers are Gypsies, but they do not like to be told of their origin. At Baroda in Guzerat I took lessons in snake-catching, but found the sport too dangerous; when the animal flies, the tail is caught by the left hand and the right is slipped up to the neck, a delicate process, as a few inches too far or not far enough would be followed by certain death in catching a cobra. At last certain of my messmates killed one of the captives and the snake-charmer would have no more to do with me.'

Supplemental Nights, vol. iv. p. 29. 'Arab. "Ghâziyah": for the plur. "Ghawázi" see vol. i. 214; also Lane (M. E.) index under "Ghazeeyehs."'

Ibidem, p. 72. 'The chief man (Aghá) of the Gypsies, the Jink of Egypt whom Turkish soldiers call Ghiovendé, a race of singers and dancers; in fact professional Nautch-girls. See p. 222, "Account of the Gypsies of India," by David Mac-Ritchie (London, K. Paul, 1886), a most useful manual.' ALEX. RUSSELL.

6th March 1916.

13.—MEZZOFANTI A ROMANO RAI?

Rebolledo in the preface to his *A Chipicallí*, Granada, 1900, makes the statement that Mezzofanti, the famous professor at the University of Bologna, preferred Romani to all other languages, 'to such an extent that when his reason was clouded in 1832, he mixed the thirty-two languages which he knew, excepting the Gypsy dialect, which he never mixed with any other.'

It would be interesting to find the source of this statement, and to ascertain to what extent Mezzofanti was a Romani Rai.

IRVING BROWN.

[C. W. Russell in his *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* (Lond., 1858) states on the authority of Baron von Zach that Mezzofanti learned Romani from a Gypsy in a Hungarian regiment garrisoned at Bologna during the Italian War (p. 244): also that he possessed two grammars of the language, one in German and one in Italian (p. 248). Romani is recorded in a list of eleven languages which he spoke rarely and less perfectly than thirty-nine others (p. 468). Miklosich (*Mundarten*, ii. 79) published a short vocabulary collected by the Cardinal, probably from the soldier already mentioned, as it contains Rumanian and Magyar loan words.]

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CONTENTS

THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. II YEAR 1923 No. 4

I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 19. I BEJÉSKŌ PARAMÍŚUS.

With a Rumanian Gypsy parallel recorded by Miss D. E. YATES, and a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

[One of the sources of this story, first heard from Harry Wood, and afterwards retold by his father, is, as we learn from my colleague's note, the well-known tale, 'Are you angry?' And hence it seems appropriate to print with it a Rumanian Gypsy version taken down several years ago by Miss D. E. Yates.]

'Doi sas bita kĕr kai ǰivélas ṗurī ťā lakō čavō. Bɔ̄rō bɔ̄rō mūrš sas lakō čavō. T'ā sas raikanī filišin yeḱ ṗūv pošé. T'ā 'kaia ṗurī ǰalas kī 'kaia filišín sɔ̄kon ōra te lel čelō kɔ̄lō mɔ̄rō ťā bɔ̄rī pīrī ṗārdī sutlō ťud. T'ā 'ǰɔ̄ trin bēršéŋī.

T'ā yeḱ 'saṙla ṗučdás ī filišinákerō ī ṗurīátē: "Kon šī tut te rigerés te lesa ojɔ̄ kišī χɔbén?" "Nai man kek te rigerá palál mī

THE DEVIL'S TALE

There was a little cottage where an old woman lived with her son. Her son was a great big man. And a field away stood a fine hall. And this old woman used to go to this hall every hour to get a loaf of barley-bread, and a great potful of buttermilk. And thus it was for three years.

And one morning the squire asked the old woman: 'Whom hast thou to support that thou dost require so much food?' 'I

kokorí ťā mō čavō." "*Dava tut čī kekkómī: bišā tō čavō 'kai, wɔntsáva mē te dikā les.*"

Pɔlē g'as ī ṗurī kī peskō bita kēr. Xɔčē yoi peskē čavéskī: "*Dela man čī kekkómī, ǰɔ̄ 'prē 'doi, wɔntséla te dikél tut.*" "*Sō wɔntséla mansa?*" *χɔč'ō čavō. T'ā 'prē g'as k'ī filišinátī.*

Ak'ō filišinákerō avrí k'ō hudár, ťā dikás tɔp lestī. "*Kesa tū būtí?*" *χɔč'ō gɔ̄ǰō.* "*Sō sī būtī?*" *χɔčē 'kava bɔ̄rō mūrš.* "*Av akái, sikaváva tut,*" *ťā 'yas les aré ō dōšimáskō ťan. 'Yas ō gɔ̄ǰō ī fɔŋa ar'ō vast.* "*Akīá,*" *χɔčē, ťā učerdás bita guruvákī ful 'rɔl ō hudár.* "*Oǰ̄ s'ō drom te wɔntsáva tut te kes.*"

"*Nai 'dová čī,*" *χɔč'ō bɔ̄rō mūrš, ťā 'yas ī fɔŋa, ťā učerdás les sɔ̄r avrí aré yek učeribenástī. Trašadó sas ō gɔ̄ǰō te dikél les.*

"*Šī man guruvá pārdál ō pānī, ǰɔ̄ ťa and len sɔ̄r opré k'ō kēr. And len 'rɔl ō pānī, ťā mɔ̄ kiňjer leŋē χurá, kek o lendē.*"

'Yas ō bɔ̄rō mūrš gonō ťā bɔ̄rī čurī, ťā g'as 'rɔl ō pānī, ťā prastīás palal ō guruvá, ťā ťildás yek. Čindīás lakē stɔ̄r χurá, ťā čidás len ar'ō gonō. Kedás sɔ̄r ō guruvā oǰ̄. Bī-χuréŋerē ši-lē sɔ̄r.

have no one to keep except myself and my son.' 'I will give thee nothing more; send thy son hither, I wish to see him.'

The old woman returned to her cottage. Quoth she to her son: 'He will give me nothing more, go up, he wishes to see thee.' 'What does he want with me?' said the son. And up he went to the hall.

Here was the squire out on the doorstep, and he looked at him. 'Canst thou work?' quoth the gentile. 'What is work?' asked this big man. 'Come here, I will show thee,' and he led him into the shippon. The gentile took a pitchfork in his hand. 'This is the way,' quoth he, and tossed some cow-dung through the door. 'That is the way I want thee to do it.'

'That is naught!' quoth the big man. He seized the fork, and threw all the dung out in one throw. The gentile was amazed to see him.

'I have a herd of cows on the other side of the river; go and drive them all up to the house. Lead them through the water without wetting the hoofs of a single one.'

The big man took a sack and a carving knife, and crossed the river, and ran after the cows, and caught one. He chopped off her four hoofs and put them in the sack. So he dealt with the whole herd. Now they are hoofless, every one.

Bišadás len arśl ō pānī opré k'ō kēr. 'Doi sas ō filišinákerō k'ō hudār. Učerdás ō bōrō mūrš ō gonō pɔšē leskē pīrē; sōr χuřá peřdé avrí ō gonō. "Dik!" χɔčē, "sī 'kola kindé?"

Kana dikás ō gōǰō oková, 'doi sas bōrō čiyeriben. 'Vilé kitanés palál.

"Nē 'kanś," χɔč'ō gōǰō, "wɔntsáva tut te kes bita būtī mayī. Okotár ar'ō veš šī man vērdō ťā trin graiā. S'ō mūrš odói te ladénas ō vērdō ī rukénsa, ťā nai tut čī te kes palál te ṗenés ī greyī: 'Nē 'kanś, ǰan anlé.'"

Gyas ō mūrš. Xɔčē yov ī greyī: "J̌an anlé." Kek o lendē na ǰanas kek. Tārdiás ō 'lananō grai avrí, ťā ṗandiás leskē stōr pīrē, ťā učerdás les aré ō vērdō. "Nē 'kanś, ǰan anlé," χɔčē k'ō vavēr dūīéyī. Kek odóla dūīéndē na ǰanas kek. Tārdiás odola dūīén avrí, ťā ṗandiás leyē stōr pīrē, ťā učerdás len ar'ō vērdō. Gyas aré ī vērdéskē mušā kokoró, tārdiás sōr—vērdō, rukā, ťā trin graiá —'prē k'ī filišín.

'Vrī 'viás ō ṗurō gōǰō, trašadó sas-lō te dikél sōr 'kava keriben. Muktás ō vērdō 'lan ō hudár ťā g'as te lel p'skō χɔben, sutlō ťud ťā

He drove them through the water and up to the house. There was the squire at the door. The big man threw the sack down at his feet; all the hoofs tumbled out of it. 'Look,' quoth he, 'are they wet?'

When the gentile saw that, there was a mighty quarrel; but they made it up again after a time.

'Now then,' said the gentile, 'I want thee to do a job for me. Yonder in the forest I have a cart and three horses. There are men there loading the cart with timber, and thou hast naught to do except to say to the horses: "Now then, gee up!"'

The man went. He called out to the horses: 'Gee up.' Not one of them would move. He unharnessed the leader, fastened his four feet together, and flung him into the cart. 'Now then, gee up!' he called out to the other two. Neither of them would move. He unharnessed them both, bound their four feet, and flung them into the cart. Then he went between the shafts himself, and dragged everything—cart, timber, and the three horses—up to the hall.

Out came the old gentile; he was amazed to see this feat. The big man left the cart before the door, and went to get his

kɔ̄lō mɔ̄rō. P'učtás lestē ō ṗurō filišinákerō: "Kai 'yan tū tō žožvaliben?" Nɔ̄, na ṗukavélas kek.

Xɔč 'ō gɔ̄ǰō leskī: "Aré ṗūv talé 'dotár sī bɔ̄rī lena. Wɔntsáva tut te šukérés lā maŋī."

Gyas ō bɔ̄rō mūrš, peřadás bɔ̄rō ruk. Gyas k'ī lena; čidás ō ruk aré ī ṗūv tala ī lena; muktás sɔ̄r pānī aról.

Ranī 'sařla gyas ō ṗurō rai talé k'ī lena te dikél. Ō pānī sas šukerdō sɔ̄r. P'učdás lestē pɔ̄palé: "Kai 'yan tīrō žožvaliben?" Na ṗenélas kek.

"Sikaváva tut mē sō sī žožvaliben." 'Yas bɔ̄rī sastārnéskī velint. Čidás ī velint trušal ī filišin, ťā sɔ̄r gɔ̄ǰē aré lestī, ťā rigerdás les talé ťā čidás les talé pɔ̄sē peskō nɔgō bita čorvanō kēr.

Xɔč 'ō bɔ̄rō filišinákerō leskī ar'ī 'sařla: "Te ṗenésa tū maŋī kai 'yan tū tō žožvalibén, dava tut sɔ̄r mē bakarén, ťā sɔ̄r mē guruvá, ťā sɔ̄r mē gren."

Na ṗendás čī ō bɔ̄rō mūrš. Gyas aré peskī počī. Andīás bita ṗɔ̄rnō kočō ī počīátē. "Olē, lē 'kavá," χɔč'ō bɔ̄rō mūrš.

dinner of buttermilk and barley-bread. The old squire asked him: 'From whence didst thou get thy strength?' No, he would not tell.

Said the gentile to him: 'There is a great lake down yonder in the fields. I want thee to drain it for me.'

The big man went, he felled a huge tree. He reached the lake; he thrust the tree into the bank beneath the lake, and let all the water escape.

Early in the morning the old gentleman went down to the lake to look at it. The water was all dried up. He asked him again: 'From whence didst thou get thy strength?' He would not say.

'I will show thee what strength really is.' He seized a great iron chain. He fastened the chain around the hall with all the people in it, and dragged it down, and set it beside his own wretched little hut.

Quoth the great squire to him in the morning: 'If thou wilt tell me where thou didst get thy strength, I will give thee all my sheep, and all my cows, and all my horses.'

The big man said naught. He put his hand in his pocket. He drew out a little white button from his pocket. 'Here, take this,' quoth the big man.

Patsélas ō bɔ̄rō filišinákerō sɔ̄r. Čidás ō kočō 'rē peskī potsī. Dīás sɔ̄r te sas les ī bɔ̄rē mūršéstī ťā gyas peskī dūrīál.

Trin divesá gilé. Dikélas kek čī te 'velas. Xɔčē yov kokoréskī: "Okē mūrš kedás man: ō beŋ sī lesa. Ďava mē pɔ̄lē kī yov 'kanś."

T'ā gīás pɔ̄lē, ťā dīás ō hudár šukár. 'Vrī 'vīás ō bɔ̄rō mūrš. Ō lav te ṗendás ō gɔ̄ǰō leskī: "Ō beŋ šan!" "Aua!" χɔč 'ō bɔ̄rō mūrš, "ō beŋ pestī." T'ā d'as les talé.

T'ō beŋ ǰivéla 'doi 'kanś.

T'ā bɔ̄rī goi maŋī te ṗenáva 'kava χoχiben tukī.

The great squire would believe anything. He put the button in his pocket. He gave all he possessed to the big man, and went away to a distant place.

Three days passed. He saw that nothing was going to come of it. Quoth he to himself: 'That man has cheated me: the devil looks after him. I will make my way back to him, at once."

He went back, and knocked softly at the door. Out came the big man. The gentile greeted him with the words: 'Thou art the devil!' 'Yes!' answered the big man, 'the devil himself!' And he knocked him down.

And the devil lives there still.

And I deserve a big pudding for telling thee this lie.

ART THOU ANGRY?

A Rumanian Gypsy folk-tale recorded by Dora E. Yates.

[This tale was taken down at Birkenhead on June 11, 1911, from Yanko Lēonosko, brother of green-eyed Freštik, and translated into broken French by the chief's youngest daughter Pavolīna, who was somewhat fearful of relating a tale of such sacrilege to 'le bon Dieu!' Compared to others of this Rumanian band, Yanko was a poor narrator, lacking the fire and dramatic gestures of most Gypsy story-tellers; but he spoke clearly, and used far fewer loan-words than any of his brethren.]

Sas trin ṗral: yek ṗral dīlō. Hai gilé le dū ṗral pō gava. Hai 'vilé k'ō rašái. Hai pendé le rašáka lažavé.

ART THOU ANGRY?

There were three brothers. One brother was a fool. And two of the brothers went to the town. They came to the priest. They told the priest that they were penitents.

Hai liné le rašai le grastín. Hai avilé kərə bī-grastín. Hai pušéla leŋō ṗral, ō dīlō: "Kai, ṗrala, le gras hā vordon?" "Līá lē rašai."

Hai gilō ō dīlō k'ō rašai tā dīá pes slūga.[1] *Hai līá pe ō dīlō le rašása ko χolyaréla yek avrés pō kodō te las*[2] *ē morčī.*

Hai gilō ō dīlō le gurumnīánsa te pravarél lē. Hai līá ō dīlō ē morčī pal gurumnīá, hai 'vilō kərə. Hai pušél le rašás: "Pe χoláti, rašáia?" Ō rašai pendīá nai pe χoláti.

Hai līás ō dīlō ē zmentína. Hai gilō andē kaŋgeri, hai meklīá le devléŋō mūi la zmentinása.

Hai pendīá le rašákə sar čōrdé le devla ē zmentína. Hai gilō ō rašái andē kaŋgeri, hai mudardá le devlén. Tai avilé le gāžē kurkə te rodyím-pe:[3] *ē kaŋgeri pandadí.*

Hai gilō rašai k'ō dīlō t'aŋgerél[4] *le devlén and'ō veš. Hai līá ō dīlō ō gonō, hai tōdīá le devlén and'ō gonō. Hai aŋgerdá lē and'ō veš.*

They took the priest their horses in expiation, and came home horseless. And their brother, the fool, asks: 'Where, brother, is the horse and cart?' 'The priest took them.'

And the fool went to the priest, and offered himself as servant. And the fool bargained with the priest that the one who made the other angry should skin that one.

And the fool went with the cows to pasture them. And the fool cut the skin from the rumps of the cows, and returned home. And he asks the priest, 'Art thou in a rage, O priest?' The priest replied he was not in a rage.

And the fool took cream. And he went into the church, and smeared the mouth of the images [*lit.* gods] with the cream.

And he told the priest how the images had stolen the cream. And the priest went into the church, and smashed the images. And the people came on Sunday to pray; the church was closed.

And the priest went to the fool (to get him) to carry the images into the forest. And the fool took a sack and put the images into the sack. And he carried them into the forest.

[1] *slūga*] Mik. v. 56, Rum. slugъ.

[2] *las*] Contr. form for *lelas*; cp. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii. 136, *toles*, 'he was putting,' for *tōdélas*.

[3] *rodyím-pe*] Mik. v. 53, Buk. Gyp. *rudi-* 'to beg,' from Rum. rog, rugare.

[4] *aŋgerél*] Mik. v. 69, *ъngъr-* 'to carry, bring, lead.'

Hai 'vilō kərə; hai tradíl le dīlés t'anél le devlén palpalé. Hai maŋgél lestar ō dīlō šov šila. Hai dīá les ō rašai šov šila t'anél le devlén. Ō dīlō pendīá ke našlé le devlá.

Hai līá pe ō rašai te našə́l peke romnīása. Hai 'vīá dīlō pala lende. Hai ratyardé[1] *paš'ō pai. Hai spidyála*[2] *ō dīlō and'ō pai le rašés, hai vi la rašaïá.*[3] *Hai mulé.*

Hai man nai avér andalát.

And he returned home; and (the priest) sends the fool to bring back the images. And the fool demands of him 600 (francs). And the priest gave him 600 francs to fetch the images. (Then) the fool said the images had run away.

And the priest arranged to escape with his wife [to avoid the penalty of losing his skin]. And the fool followed them. They spent the night by the water. And the fool pushes the priest into the water, and his wife also. And they perished.

And I have no other (tale) at present.

[The Devil's Tale appears in fact to be a blend of three stories, viz. *A*, *The Bargain with the Villainous Master*, *B*, *The Young Giant*, Grimm No. 90, and *C*, a particular variation of *The Young Giant*, in which the Devil engages himself as a labourer.

A. See Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Cappadocia*, p. 234, Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, ii. pp. 47-55, Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, ii. p. 293, Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*, i. p. 181. In this story a master strikes a bargain with those who seek work in his service, that if either of them gets angry with the other, he shall forfeit a piece of skin to be cut off his back, or some similarly drastic penalty. Usually the two elder of three brothers are in turn engaged, lose their tempers, and pay the penalty; the third, however, plays a series of disastrous tricks upon the master, who dare not confess his anger. But the cumulative effect of the various acts of destruction of his property at length becomes unendurable, the master loses his temper and the forfeit, and his former victims are thus revenged. The cutting off of the cow's feet belongs evidently to a story of this type, and there is an unintelligent echo of the bargain in the words, which in our version

[1] *ratyardé*]=Mik. v. 52, Buk. Gyp. *rat'ar-*.

[2] *spidyála*]=Mik. v. 56, Buk. Gyp. *spid-*.

[3] *rašaïá*] Pronounced almost as a trisyllable, this form being the fem. acc. of *rašaī*=Gk. Gyp. *rašani*.

have become somewhat meaningless, 'When the farmer saw that, there was a mighty quarrel, but they made it up again after a time.' For deliberately impossible commands analogous to 'lead them through the water without wetting the hoofs of a single one,' see Dawkins, *loc. cit.*

B. See Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, ii. pp. 107-14, 266-70, Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, ii. pp. 285-97. A woman who has been embraced by a bear (*e.g.* von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, No. 75) gives birth to a son of giant strength, or the boy owes his miraculous powers to being suckled by a bear or by a giant, or for a prolonged period of years by his mother (see Cosquin, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 110, Bolte und Polívka, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 286, 287, 293, 296, 317-18, *cf.* Groome, No. 20, Macdougall, *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire*, p. 187). He has, like our hero, a gigantic appetite corresponding to his strength, and in many versions eats so much that his parents can no longer provide for him, and send him out to work. He bargains with a farmer, either for as much corn as he can carry away after harvest, or for permission to give him a box on the ears at the end of his service. His giant strength soon reveals itself in his feats, of which carrying timber, cart, and horses home is one of the most usual, though more careful raconteurs prefer two horses which are placed one in each coat-pocket. Ours seems to have forgotten that his cart is overloaded with timber. The farmer, alarmed at so powerful a servant, tries by various tricks to get rid of him. It is possible that the draining of the lake is a faint echo of a very common incident in this series. The strong man is sent down to clean out a well, and the master throws down upon him, with evil intent, first a millstone and then a church bell. The hero, however, comes cheerfully to the top with the millstone round his neck and the bell on his head, and demands the admiration of the chagrined master for the fine collar and night-cap which he has acquired.

On the other hand, in an English Gypsy variant which was recorded by Mr. T. W. Thompson from Noah Lock (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. pp. 213-16) Strong Jack finds that fetching water in two buckets is too slow work and supplements these puny implements with 'a t'emendous big cask.' In this version the hero owes his strength to having been kept in bed by his mother until he was twenty-one, and belongs therefore to the Lazy Strong Man type. His feats of strength embarrass the farmer who employs

him; he ultimately enlists and single-handed defeats an army, using in the last resort the horse, which has been killed under him, as a club. This feat is rewarded by the hand of the king's daughter.

C. Bolte und Polívka, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 294, give references to a number of variants of an allied story in which the Devil has to serve a peasant as punishment for having stolen his bread. The Highland story of 'The Farmer of Liddesdale,' Jacobs, *More Celtic Fairy Stories*, p. 106, is a yet closer parallel to ours. There a farmer engages a hand on terms of his taking of the harvest what he could carry away. The hand was the Devil, and when the time came, he made to remove every sheaf of corn, but was foiled by the farmer's despairing appeal to God. *Le Fils du Diable*, Cosquin, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 158 foll., has an introduction borrowed from a different story. A childless man promises the Devil that if he has two sons, the Devil shall have one. Hence the strong hero, who makes Hell too hot to hold him and thereafter pursues adventures of the Young Giant type. *Inter alia* he removes a prison and its contents and sets it down by his master's door.

Le Fils du Diable possesses an old pair of black trousers, the pockets of which inexhaustibly supply money. This, however, like the questions in our version as to the talisman upon which the hero's strength depends, is probably an alien and intrusive element which does not properly belong to this story.

Bolte und Polívka, *op. cit.*, p. 296, notice the connection between the Young Giant and heroes of the Siegfried, Gargantua and Eulenspiegel types, who are distinguished by mischievous pranks at the expense of their associates. We might add to their list, with special reference to our conclusion, where the Devil is self-confessed, Friar Rush, a character who, for several reasons, in part no doubt because of the opportunity of combining a selection of popular drolls with a dig at monasteries, was once a favourite in this country. *The Historie of Frier Rush*, which had a wide circulation in printed form at the beginning of the seventeenth century, told how a devil disguised as a young man, sought service in a monastery and brought it and its inmates and the neighbourhood into complete moral, spiritual, and physical disorder.

The type, to which the Rumanian story belongs, is distributed throughout the Indo-European area, and is in fact one of the commonest of drolls. References have already been indicated in the note upon the 'Devil's Tale,' Type *A* (above, p. 151). The

structure of the particular example before us has undergone considerable disintegration. The villain of the piece is often, though not invariably, a member of some class of person, which is popularly regarded with aversion upon other than economic grounds. Favourites are Jews (*e.g. Arabian Nights* (Burton-Smithers), xi. pp. 314 foll.), those popular bugbears of the Nearer East, 'beardless men'[1] (*e.g.* von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, Nos. 11 and 34), or, as here, priests (*e.g.* Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, pp. 229 foll.). In the Indian versions, which are known to me, the villain is usually either a Qazi or one of the rich landowning class.

The pretext upon which the priest acquired the horses is obscurely indicated. More dexterous is the Vlach version in which it is the hero, the fool Bakâla, who suggests the terms of service to the priest. He states that he had been to consult an aged and holy man about the vile temper with which he is cursed, and had received the spiritual advice that cure was only possible if he expiated his sin upon the next occasion of giving way to anger by forfeiting a strip of skin from his back. Perhaps our incident is the result of a conflation of two alternative openings.

With the skin off the rumps of the cows may be compared the removal of the beasts' feet in the 'Devil's Tale.' I suspect, however, that the skin of the rump may be a rudimentary survival of a droll which, though found in other combinations, forms frequently an incident in versions of the *Bargain with the Villainous Master*. The hero disposes of the cows to his own advantage after cutting off their tails. These he sticks in a marsh or a rat-hole and informs the master, according to the circumstances, either that they have sunk in a bog or that they have been carried off by rats. When the master pulls at the tails to recover his beasts, of course they come off in his hands.

I cannot recall an exact parallel to the images and the cream. If our version originated in Rumania the images were probably eikons, *i.e.* flat painted representations of the Virgin, saints, etc.; for the Orthodox Church, to which over ninety per cent. of the inhabitants of Rumania belong, has no sacred images in the round. The tale might, however, have been picked up in any country in Europe, and 'images,' perhaps, better suits with the priest's smashing them.

[1] For the *σπανός* or 'beardless man,' reference may be made to the notes and references in Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223.

It is not self-evident why the priest should want the broken images to be carried into the forest and then wish for their return. It is possible that the order of incidents has been misplaced; some clue to the narrative has evidently dropped out, as far as I am concerned, irrecoverably.

The priest's ultimate admission of anger has completely disappeared, and indeed he does not, in our version, pay the specified forfeit. In stories where the master, helpless to prevent the ruin of his property because of the terms of the bargain, at length seeks refuge in flight, the attempted escape usually precedes the admission of the loss of temper. The attempted escape not infrequently gives excuse for the introduction of another well-known droll. A family whose home is infested by a boggart decide as a desperate remedy, when all else has failed, to pack up their goods and desert their home. At the first halt, however, a voice, which is only too familiar, is heard proceeding from the baggage: 'Ay, Georgey, *we*'re flitting you see.' (See the note on an unpublished Cappadocian text of the *Bargain with the Villainous Master* in Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 235, and compare the Vlach variant in which the priest tries to escape by flight, but carries Bakâla with him unbeknownst in his bag of books. Schott, *op. cit.*, p. 233.)

The culminating villainy, which brings about the admission of anger and the consequent payment of the forfeit, is usually the killing of the master's wife or son. Our story owes something perhaps to a form which this not infrequently takes. The family plan to rid themselves of the unwelcome servant, and decide that when they go to sleep side by side upon the roof of the house or upon the brink of a river, it shall be arranged that the servant has the outside place. A concerted push will then do the trick. The servant, however, manages to change places in the dark, and the wife or son of the master gets pushed over to destruction in his place. This ruse is similar to that employed by the clever member of the band of brothers and sisters when sleeping at an ogre's house. Their nightcaps, night-clothes, or positions are changed with those of the ogre's children, whom their parent consequently kills in error (see Bolte und Polívka, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 124 and 499 foll.). This folk-tale incident occurs in the Milesian version of the *Aedon* story upon which Euripides drew for the plot of his *Ino*. In Euripides the night-clothes, in Pherekydes the caps, in an alternative version preserved by the scholiast, the positions of the

children, were changed (see the references in Robert, *Die griechischen Heldensage*, Berlin, 1920, i. pp. 49, 125). Though there is a fair number of incidents which are common to classical mythology and Indo-European folk-tales, it is smaller than is sometimes supposed. This very complete coincidence is therefore possibly worth noting.

A very common incident in European versions of the *Bargain with the Villainous Master*, which does not appear in our story, is the killing of the master's wife when she is pretending to be a cuckoo. In this form of the story the agreement is limited in time 'until the cuckoo sings.' The wife tries to bring their troubles to a close by climbing a tree and imitating the cuckoo, and is killed by the hero, with consequent loss of temper by the master. For this incident see Cosquin, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 52, and Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 297, 380.

W. R. H.]

II.—ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY MIGRATIONS OF THE GYPSIES

A Paper read by Dr. JOHN SAMPSON before the Anthropological Section of the British Association, at their Liverpool Meeting, September 17, 1923.

THE old question: Who are the Gypsies? has met with many answers from every country in which they have made their appearance, and there is certainly no lack of learned and ingenious theories, supported by authoritative names, attacking the problem from the various bases of philology, history or ethnology.

The earliest beliefs as to the origin of this race are embodied in the names bestowed upon them by the *gajé* or gentiles, who harboured them so much against their will. Like some strange form of pestilence the evil has been attributed by every people to its neighbours. In Greece, Spain and England they were termed Egyptians; in Switzerland and Germany Saracens; in South Germany and the Netherlands Heiden or heathens; in North Germany, Scandinavia and Finland Tatars; in France and Switzerland Bohemians; while single historians have variously named them Chaldeans, Jews, Huns and Ethiopians.

Similarly in Asia and Africa we find in the names borne by the Gypsies the same false ascriptions of foreign nationality. In

Turkestan they figure as *Baluji*, or natives of Beluchistan. The Persian *Kauli* or *Kabuli*, reflects the belief that they came from Kabul; while the word *Zotti* (plur. *Zott*), another of the Persian names for Gypsy, is merely the ordinary Arabic pronunciation of the Indian tribal name Jat. A widespread term is the Persian *Luli* or *Luri*, *i.e.* a native of Luristan, variant forms of which, due to confusion of liquids, are found in the *Lyuli* of Turkestan, and the *Nuri* (plur. *Nawar*) of Syria and Egypt; the *Helebi* of the latter country signifying inhabitant of Haleb or Aleppo.

On the strength of one of these names, Zott, an elaborate theory has been propounded by the late orientalist De Goeje, who by citations from Arab historians attempts to prove that the Gypsies are identical with the Jats of India.[1] According to these chroniclers, in the seventh century during the wars between Persia and Arabia, the Zott or Jats (from whom, with other Sindhian tribes, the Persian forces had been recruited) settled in Khuzistan. Early in the ninth century these Zott had become so great a pest in the valley of the lower Tigris, that 27,000 of them were transported to Ainzarba and other places on the northern frontier of Syria. On the Byzantine capture of Ainzarba in 855, these Zott inhabitants with their women, children and cattle were carried as prisoners into the Greek Empire. These, says De Goeje, are the ancestors of our European Gypsies. This theory unfortunately rests on nothing but the name, and is disprovable on ethnological as well as philological grounds. The Jats, a proud warlike race with colonising instincts, and capacity for social and military organisation, have nothing in common with the Gypsy mimes and jugglers, while their language Jatakī is wholly dissimilar from Romanī. As Pischel sums up, 'the information which De Goeje has given from Arabic sources is the history not of the Gypsies but of the Jats.'

Mistaken as this view is, the name Zott, however, applied to the Gypsies of Persia, supplies us with certain evidence as to the approximate date of their appearance in that country. A Persian legend, describing the Gypsies as the descendants of 12,000 Indian minstrels, imported for the entertainment of his subjects by the Sassanian monarch Bahram Gur (the 'great hunter' of Omar's

[1] *Bijdr. tot d. geschied. d. Zigeuners* (*Konink. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Amsterdam, 1875); trans. into Eng. by J. Snijders, in MacRitchie's *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*, 1886, with a valuable appendix by D. MacR.; recast by the author in his *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leide, 1903.

Rubaiyat), is recounted both by the Arabian historian Hamza of Ispahan,[1] *c.* 950, who refers to the Gypsies as Zott, and half a century later by the Persian poet Firdausi,[2] who names them Luri —both terms being still in use. Impossible as it is to accept this legend as historical fact, it shows clearly that there *had* been an Indian minstrel element in Persia known as Zott or Luri, at the time when Hamza and Firdausi wrote, and for a considerable period before. If we allow some fifty or sixty years for this tradition to have won general acceptance (as the Egyptian myth did later in mediaeval Europe), we may date the entry of the Gypsies into Persia about the end of the ninth century.

A more trustworthy clue to the origin of the Gypsies may be looked for in their widespread name for men of their own race. This name is the European Gypsy *rom*, Syrian and Persian Gypsy *dom*, Armenian Gypsy *lom*, all of which are in exact phonetic correspondence with Skt. ḍoma, Mod. Ind. ḍom, 'a man of low caste who gains his livelihood by singing and dancing.' The Ḍoms of Modern India, who exist as vagrant tribes, chiefly in Behar and in the West and North-West Provinces, have many features in common with the Gypsies. Bands of this people wander restlessly about with little ragged reed tents which they pitch outside villages and strike again with marvellous rapidity after having despoiled the inhabitants. Some make baskets, mats and similar articles. In Dardistan, where they form a considerable part of the population, and as elsewhere constitute the lower caste, they are musicians, smiths, and leather-workers. The Ḍoms eat the flesh of animals which have died a natural death, and are particularly fond of carrion pork—the *mulo bâlo* of the English Gypsy. They appear to possess no mother-tongue, but speak the language of the people among whom they live.[3]

It has been objected by some writers that the Indian Ḍoms would seem to be of Dravidian, not of Aryan stock; but we know little or nothing of the early Ḍoms, or of those vagrant minstrels who left their fatherland more than 1000 years ago. We must remember that at the present day there are Ḍoms and Ḍoms, and

[1] De Goeje, *Mém.*, p. 2.

[2] In his *Shāh Nāme*, where he gives the number as 10,000. The passage is given in the original, with a translation by Col. Harriot (*Trans. R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland*, ii. pp. 527-8, 1830).

[3] Pischel's *Heimat d. Zigeuner* (trans. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 292 *sqq.*); most of these statements with regard to the Ḍoms being taken from *The People of India*, ed. by J. Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye, vol. i., 1868.

that the name may have no more racial significance than our own 'smith' or 'tinker.' One of the weightiest authorities on the Criminal and Wandering Tribes of India, Mr. H. L. Williams, says:[1] 'I have sought also for pure unalloyed Ḍoms, and I have never found them. I believe that Ḍom merely means a professional musician, and that the term is occupational, applied to any and every outcaste tribe.' The name *Dom* or *Rom* then preserves for us the original caste and calling of the ancestors of the Asiatic and European Gypsies, though it fails of course to connect Romanī with any particular dialect of India, or to supply any clue to the route of migration followed by the Gypsies.

Let me now turn to the evidence of the language, 'the true history of the Gypsy race being,' as Paspati observes, 'in the study of their tongue.' While the Indian origin of the Gypsies had been discovered almost simultaneously by Grellmann, Rüdiger, and Jacob Bryant[2] in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, any sound conclusions may be said to have originated with the great philologist Pott, who in his learned work, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, laid the foundations of Gypsy scholarship. The scientific study of Romanī was still further advanced by Ascoli and Miklosich, the latter of whom, by a classification of the European loan-words found in each dialect, was able to demonstrate the routes taken by the Gypsies after their dispersal from the south of Greece about 1440.

But tenable as the conclusions of these scholars still are, they can only be said to be partially true, since they deal solely with European Romanī and take no cognisance of the Asiatic dialects, then little known and almost wholly disregarded. A new and immensely important source of knowledge has been made available in our own day by the publication in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* of Professor R. A. S. Macalister's *Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*,[3] collected by him in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, when carrying out researches for the Palestine Exploration Fund. Macalister's work gives us, for the first time, a complete vocabulary of Syrian Gypsy together with an accurate grammar of this predominant Asiatic dialect;

[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 39.

[2] See *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 162 *sqq.*

[3] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vol. iii.-vi., 1909-1912. Repr. as Monograph No. 3 of the Society. With this may be compared the earlier but valuable paper by Captain Newbold on *The Gypsies of Egypt* (*R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xvi., 1856), which gives, among others, short vocabularies of the dialects of the Nawar and Kurbat.

while the late Professor Finck, another member of the Gypsy Lore Society, has brought together all the previous collections of Armenian Gypsy.[1] We are now therefore in a position to deal with Asiatic Gypsy as the older school of philologists dealt with European, and moreover to compare the widely different Eastern and Western dialects with each other, as well as with their Indian source.

Let us see what new light is thrown upon the questions of origin and migration by investigation of the fresh material. First, it may be inquired whether the language of the Asiatic and that of the European Gypsies had a common origin, or whether the two forms of speech are so distinct as to warrant us in supposing that they may have belonged to separate Indian peoples living perhaps under different conditions of time and place. To this question there can be but one answer. In spite of the outward dissimilarity between the Eastern and Western Romanī of to-day, an analysis of their grammar, the true criterion of relationship, makes it clear that both languages were originally one. As early as 1846, Pott had compared the conjugation of the Syrian Gypsy verb with the more familiar European type,[2] and the recent examples of Macalister display similar analogies in the declension of the noun and pronoun, thus finally establishing the close relationship of the two dialects despite their long separation.

The inflections preserved in Romanī indeed are precisely what we might expect from an Indian race entering Persia in the ninth century. Beames, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, dates the break-up of the old synthetic system and the beginning of the analytic structure of the vernaculars about the year 1000 A.D. As he observes, 'The curtain falls on Indian languages about the first century, and does not rise again until the tenth . . . when the Indian "morning-star of song," Chand Bardai, is heard chanting the gestes of Prithiraj in a dialect which, though rude and half-formed, is still as purely analytical as the familiar talk of the Indians of to-day.'[3] In certain respects we see that Romanī has retained archaisms unknown to the oldest form of the vernaculars, notably in the personal endings of the verb, which have practically disappeared from the Modern

[1] *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, St. Pétersbourg, 1907; recast in *Die Grundzüge des armenischen-zigeunerischen Sprachbaus* (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vol. i., 1907).

[2] Hoeffer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, i. 2, 175 *sqq.*

[3] Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, i. 22-3.

Indian conjugation. We are therefore justified in regarding Romanī as the oldest example of the neo-Aryan languages, saved by its isolation from the decay which has affected the others.

Although these and other points of morphological similarity prove that the Gypsies on first entering Persian territory were a single race, speaking a single language, the difference between Eastern and Western Romanī is so considerable as to point to a very early separation between the two branches. This is at once apparent if we attempt to apply to the Gypsy dialects of Asia the same process of phonetic analysis, which has been already effected for European Romanī by Ascoli and Miklosich.

Let us first look at the regular and beautiful phonetic law, under which the original Sanskrit-Prākrit aspirate mediae, gh, jh, dh, and bh, have been converted in European Romanī into the corresponding aspirate tenues *kh*, *ch*, *th*, and *ph*. Thus we find correspondences between Skt. gharma and Rom. *kham*, 'sun'; Skt. dhūma and Rom. *thuv*, 'smoke'; Skt. bhūmi and Rom. *phūv*, 'field.' This change is at once so constant and characteristic, that it may almost be said to be the distinctive phonetic feature of Romanī.

When, however, we turn to the Asiatic dialects, we see that this law does not universally hold. The dialects of Asia resolve themselves into two groups, those which have converted the original aspirate mediae into aspirate tenues, and those which have disaspirated the same sounds. The former of these changes, besides being common to all the European dialects, is found also in the speech of the Asiatic Bošа, a race forming the chief Gypsy inhabitants of Armenia, and wandering in Persia and the Southern Caucasus in the same districts as, but as a separate tribe from, the Gypsy bands known as Karači. The latter sound change, *i.e.* the disaspiration of aspirate mediae, characterises the speech of the Nawar of Palestine, the Kurbat of Northern Syria, and the allied Karači of Asia Minor, Transcaucasia and Persia. All these tribes if interrogated would frankly avow: 'Yes, we have no aspirates.' Thus in the dialect of the Syrian Gypsies we have from Skt. ghāsa, Nuri *gas*, beside Eur. and Arm. Gyp. *khas*, 'hay'; Skt. √dhāv, Nuri *dău-*, Eur. and Arm. Gyp. *thov-*, 'to wash'; Skt. bhrātṛ, Nuri *bar*, Arm. Gyp. *phal*, Eur. Gyp. *phral*, *phal*, 'brother.'

Such a comparison between the two chief dialects, each of which is distinguished by other phonetic differences which cannot be dwelt on here, makes one important fact certain. Since neither

dialect could have been derived from the other, their different development on separate lines leads inevitably to the conclusion that the early ancestors of our Asiatic and European Gypsies must have entered Persia with practically all the original consonants intact, that is to say with cerebrals as well as dentals,[1] and all the Indian voiced and voiceless aspirates.[2]

This fact has an important bearing on the view held by some eminent scholars as to the close connection between Romanī and the Paiśācī group of languages, comprehending Kāśmīrī and the dialects of the Dards and Kāfirs, a supposed affinity, which (first suggested by Miklosich in 1878)[3] has since received the support of such authorities as Pischel[4] and Sir George Grierson.[5] The conclusions, however, of Miklosich and Pischel, as the latter himself recognised, are weakened by their necessarily imperfect knowledge of Eastern Romanī, and its precise connection with the dialects of the West. We are now at last in a position to compare the *Ursprache* of the Gypsies with the ancient and modern forms of Paiśācī, and accordingly I cite here some of the fundamental differences which distinguish Romanī from the Dardic group.

Both Pischel and Sir G. Grierson agree that the characteristic feature of the Paiśācī Prākrits, and especially of Cūlikā-Paiśācikā, 'in which all soft consonants are hardened,' is the change of mediae

[1] *Cerebrals and Dentals.* That these early Gypsies of Persia were then possessed of both cerebrals and dentals is apparent from the entirely different development of these two classes of sounds both in Eastern and Western Romanī (a subject with which I propose to deal more fully in a future paper): e.g. while original cerebral *ṭ* is retained, as a gingival, by the Nawar and Karači and becomes *r* in the speech of the Arm. and Eur. Gypsies, Skt. dental *t* has been weakened to *r* in Syrian, and to *l* in Arm. and Eur. Romanī. This, it may be added, marks another difference between the tongue of the original Gypsies and that of the Dards and Kāfirs, where apparently there is no distinction at all between cerebral and dental consonants (Grierson, *Piśāca Languages*, pp. 3, 18).

[2] Further proof of this is apparent from the occasional retention of the original mediae aspiratae in the dialect of the Baluji of Turkestan, e.g. *gharmi*, 'sun' (Skt. gharma) beside Nuri *gam* and Eur. Gyp. *kham*; in Newbold's examples of the Kurbat of Northern Syria, e.g. *bhanu*, 'sister' beside Nuri *bēn*, Eur. Gyp. *phen*; as well as in others collected by Pratt in the neighbourhood of Marash, e.g. *gh'as*, 'hay' (Skt. ghāsa) beside Nuri *gas*, Arm. and Eur. Gyp. *khas*.

[3] *Beitr.*, iv. 45 sqq. Chiefly because of the retention of the original consonantal nexus, -st, -ṣṭ, -ṣṭh (Rom. *st*, *šl*), which have become tth (th), ṭṭh (ṭh) in most of the Prākrits, and in all the Modern Indian vernaculars.

[4] *Heimat d. Zigeuner* (trans. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 311-12); see also *Gramm. d. Prākr. Sprachen*, § 27. According to Pischel (*loc. cit.*, p. 319) the migration of the Gypsies from India must have occurred at exactly the same time as certain struggles between the Dard tribes, following the fall of Buddhadatta, namely at the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

[5] *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii. pt. 2: *Specimens of the Dardic or Piśācha Languages*, p. 9.

to tenues—a change retained in most of the typical members of the Dardū-Kāfir group. Unfortunately for the supporters of the Paiśācī theory, this is not the case either in Eastern or Western Romanī. As has been shown, the Gypsies entered Persia with the original consonants unchanged, and since these Paiśācī changes had taken place upon Indian soil as early as the Prākritic period, it is evident that Romanī cannot have sprung from a language which had already converted its *g, j, d,* and *b* into *k, c, t,* and *p*. Another characteristic of the Modern Piśāca languages, stressed by Sir George Grierson, is the almost invariable disaspiration of the mediae aspiratae, e.g. *gh, dh,* and *bh* become *g, d,* and *b*, whereas in Romanī the same change only occurs in Syrian Gypsy, and is apparently a modern one.[1] The dialects of the Hindū Kūsh, moreover, lack several grammatical peculiarities common to Romanī and the chief Indian vernaculars, among them the so-called genitive case, which is strictly speaking an adjective agreeing with its noun in gender and number, as well as the special prohibitive negative *ma* (Skt. mā, Hind. mat).[2] There is reason, therefore, to doubt the close relationship of the Gypsy and Dardic races. The Paiśācī languages, according to Sir G. Grierson, 'are neither of Indian nor of Eranian origin, but form a third branch of the Aryan stock, dating back to a remote period.' Romanī, on the contrary, seems to me to be purely Indian, however supplemented by foreign words and changes of idiom borrowed from countries through which the Gypsies passed on their journey westward. If it should ever be definitely connected with any single Indian language or dialect, this conclusion can only be reached by some such patient morphological studies as have recently been initiated by Professor Woolner of Lahore.[3]

What light is thrown on the Gypsy migration by this comparison between Eastern and Western Romanī? The two main families, those who have disaspirated the original mediae aspiratae, and those who have converted them into the corresponding aspirate tenues, may be conveniently referred to as the *Ben* and *Phen* Gypsies respectively, both forms of this word for

[1] For a fuller discussion of this point members may refer to an amicable controversy between Sir George Grierson and myself in the *Times Lit. Supplement*, Dec. 26, 1918—Jan. 30, 1919. See also footnotes, p. 162, note 2, and p. 165, note 1.

[2] For a more detailed list of the features peculiar to Romanī and the North-West group of Indian languages, and those in which it appears to agree with the dialects of the Hindū Kūsh, see von Sowa, *Mund. d. Slovak. Zigeuner*, pp. 2-7.

[3] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 119 sqq.; Third Series, ii. 11 sqq.

'sister' originating in Prākrit bhāïnī, from Skt. bhaginī. The speech of the *Ben* Gypsies, as we have seen, comprehends the dialects of the Nawar, the Kurbat, and the Karači; that of the *Phen* Gypsies the dialect of the Boša of Armenia, as well as all the Gypsy dialects of Europe. The great and essential differences between the speech of the *Ben* and the *Phen* Gypsies are additional evidence of the centuries that have passed since the separation of the original Gypsies into two entirely distinct bands.

As the linguistic argument proves, this separation can only have taken place after their arrival in Persia. How long the Gypsies remained there is uncertain, but the presence of identical Persian loan-words in the dialects of both *Phen* and *Ben* Gypsies is another proof of their common origin. The number of Persian elements in the dialects of the European Gypsies (such as *devryál* or *daráv*, 'sea' (Pers. daryā)—the Caspian being perhaps the first great body of water they encountered—*ambrol*, 'pear' (Pers. amrūd), *buznō*, 'goat' (Pers. buz), *keš*, 'silk' (Pers. kaz), *pošom*, 'wool' (Pers. pašm), *mom*, 'wax' (Pers. mom), and *veš*, 'forest' (Pers. bēša), points to a somewhat prolonged stay, and the fact that among these are three at least—*bērk*, 'bosom' (Ar. bark), *katūn*, 'linen' (Ar. quṭn), and *kisī*, 'purse' (Ar. kīs)—of undoubted Arabic origin, is conclusive proof that the *Phen* Gypsies cannot have left Persia before the Arabic conquest had impregnated the language of the common people with a large number of Semitic words. Of the Persian or Persian-Arabic elements in the Western dialects about a third occur also in the speech of the Syrian Nawar and the Transcaucasian Karači. Lacking, however, in Nuri are several important loan-words, which may perhaps be regarded as evidence that the two bands had separated before these later Persian borrowings were absorbed into the speech of the ancestors of the Western Gypsies.

Even more conclusive evidence of the separation of the *Phen* and *Ben* Gypsy bands in Persian territory is afforded by the study of Armenian loan-words. While the number of these may have been somewhat over-estimated by Miklosich,[1] it is indisputable that there are in the European dialects of Romanī some words directly derived from Armenian. Equally noteworthy is the fact that not one of these, even such common words as *grast*, 'horse' (Arm. grast) or *kotōr*, 'piece' (Arm. kotor), occurs in the dialect either of the Nawar or of the Karači, while the small number of

[1] *Mundarten*, vi. 66-8; see also *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 10 footnote.

other Iranian words in Western Gypsy are likewise wanting in the *Ben* dialects.

The whole of the linguistic evidence, then, tends to show that the *Phen* and *Ben* Gypsies remained distinct tribes after their first separation in Persian territory somewhere about the tenth century of our era.

In no dialects, not even those of the Boša and of the Karači, who traverse the same regions, do we find any fusion of these two branches of Romanī. Each has for centuries preserved its own individuality. Probably, as I have already suggested, the *Ben* Gypsies, who must have settled in the South, were the first to leave Persia. Precisely how and when they reached Syria is unknown. There is no surviving record of their journeys or adventures by the way, and we hear nothing definite of them till the nineteenth century, when Seetzen, in his *Tagebuch*, gives a brief account of the Syrian Gypsies in Nablos in 1806, and Sir William Ouseley of the Karači of Persia in 1823. From these Gypsies, then, who had made Syria their headquarters, sprang the Nawar of Palestine, the Kurbat, and the wandering Karači, who moving northwards, overran Transcaucasia; and probably also the Helebi, who, travelling southwards, settled in Egypt.

Just as we know nothing of the first entry of the *Ben* Gypsies into Syria, so we know nothing of that of the *Phen* Gypsies into Armenia. No historical reference to their first appearance there is cited by Patkanoff or Finck, and to learn anything at all we have once more to turn to the test of language. In the collections brought together by Finck, none earlier than the last century, we find the language of the Boša reduced to a somewhat corrupt state. The noun has lost its original case-endings, and adopted those of Armenian, though the personal endings of the Sanskrit verb are still recognisable. Initial dental and cerebral *d*, which must have been unchanged when the Gypsies first settled in Armenia, have at some later date been converted into *l*, as in *lui* for *dui*, 'two,' *leval* for *devel*, 'God,' and *lom* for *dom*, 'Gypsy.' But the outstanding feature of Armenian Romanī, and the shibboleth of all the *Phen* Gypsies, is, as we have seen, the invariable conversion of Skt. gh, dh, and bh into the corresponding aspirate tenues *kh*, *th*, and *ph*, a change probably due to the influence of Armenian, which possesses these aspirate tenues, but no aspirate mediae.[1]

[1] That this change, distinctive of all the *Phen* Gypsies, first appears in Armenia, and cannot any more than the corresponding distinctive feature of the *Ben* Gypsies

The importance of this cannot be exaggerated, when we find that the same change is the characteristic feature of European Gypsy also. And since in every dialect of Western Romanī there are Armenian loan-words, it is evident that the band who entered Armenia from Persia must have been the ancestors of our European Gypsies.

The sojourn in Armenia, though probably shorter than that in Persia, cannot have been a brief one, since it must have taken a considerable period to establish firmly the distinctive phonetic features of the *Phen* Gypsies. Why they left Armenia is unknown. But since most of their sudden emigrations seem traceable as much to a horror of war as to a spirit of adventure, the exodus may have been due to the disturbed state of Armenia in the early eleventh century, when the country was raided by Seljuks and harried by Byzantine soldiery. Traces of their passage westwards survive in a few Kurdish and Ossetian loan-words, among them *vordon*, 'waggon' (Osset. uordóne, ordon), which since vans have supplemented tents has become a household name among all the European Gypsies. Even from the Seljuk Turks themselves the Gypsies acquired one significant word, *manghin*, 'treasure' (Mong. mụnggụn), which remains the only Mongol loan in the conglomerate Romanī vocabulary.

We are on more fertile ground when we trace the entry of the Gypsies into Byzantine Greece, where they first began to gather the store of Greek words which now form so considerable a part of every European dialect of Romanī. It must have been here that the original name for 'road' from Skt. pathin, still retained in Syr. Gyp. *pathün*, was abandoned by the *Phen* Gypsies in favour of *drom* (Gk. δρόμος), doubtless when they changed the old caravan tracks for the solid Roman roads of the Byzantine

(*i.e.* the disaspiration of aspirate mediae) have existed in the speech of their common ancestors, the original Gypsies of Persia, disproves one of the chief arguments by which it has been sought to identify Romanī with Paiśācī. Miklosich (*Beitr.*, iv. 51, §1) seizes on the fact that in certain words in the modern Dardic languages original mediae aspiratae become as in Romanī tenues aspiratae, and this argument is accepted by von Sowa in his list of agreements between Romanī and the dialects of the Hindū Kūsh (*Mund. d. Slov. Zig.*, p. 5 B (b)), as also by Pischel (*Gramm. d. Prākr. Sprach., loc. cit.*). Even were this change the general rule in Dardic as in Western Romanī, it would be no proof of common origin, since with the *Phen* Gypsies it was a later deviation from the original tongue probably due to foreign influence. But according to Sir George Grierson, the supreme authority on Modern Piśāca Languages, the regular and almost invariable law in Dardic dialects is not the unvoicing but the disaspiration of original sonant aspirates (*Piśāca Languages*, pp. 17, 19, 98 (no. 78), 110 (no. 164), and 117 (no. 208)).

Empire. And it was here too, if not in Greece proper, that the Romanī word *beng* for 'frog' or 'toad' (Skt. vyaṅga), preserved in its original sense in the Syr. dialect, acquired its present meaning of 'devil,' probably as Paspati supposes from the rude painted representations of St. George on horseback slaying the dragon, which the Gypsies must everywhere have met with on their entry into Grecian territory. From Greece the Gypsies took their word for the abstractions *ravnos*, 'heaven' and *čēros*, 'time'; for week, Sunday, and Friday; the numerals seven, eight, and nine; the names of the raven, goose, and dove; of the berry, raisin, cherry, raspberry, leek, onion, and broth; their words for the metals lead and copper, for table and chair, key, glass, nail, and horseshoe, market-town, fair, and mansion. Many of their Christian names are traceable to the same source, and it is no uncommon thing to find in the police-court records of to-day the conviction of a Plato or Theophilus, or some hapless Pyramus or Archilaus who has unwittingly, or wittingly, violated the social law of the Gentiles.

It is when we reach Greece, which the Gypsies must have entered before the end of the eleventh century, that historical records first come to our aid. The name applied to them by the Greeks, Ἀθίγγανοι (whence M.Gk. Ἀτσίγκανοι, Turkish *Tchinghiane*, Italian *Zingari*, Spanish *Zincali*, and German *Zigeuner*), seems to have originally designated a certain heretical sect, who flourished chiefly in Phrygia, and may have been transferred to the Gypsies because they entered Greece by way of that province.

A Georgian monk of Mount Athos, writing about 1100, refers to the Atsincan as descendants of the Samaritan race of Simon Magus, who were wizards and famous rogues, and, incidentally, adepts in animal poisoning.[1] A century later we hear of them as snake-charmers, fortune-tellers, and ventriloquists.[2] In 1322, Simon Simeonis in his *Itinerarium*, describing his stay at Candia, in Crete, speaks of them as a race outside the city who assert themselves to be of the family of Ham, rarely or never stop in one place beyond thirty days, but, always wandering and fugitive as though accursed by God, after the thirtieth day remove from field to field, and from cave to cave, with their oblong tents, black and low, like those of the Arabs.[3] About the same time we meet with them

[1] Quoted in French trans., by Miklosich, *Mundarten*, vi. 60.

[2] Miklosich, *ibid.*, vi. 61 (viii).

[3] *Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis, et Hugonis Illuminatoris ad Terram Sanctam*, p. 17, *Camb.*, 1778.

as vassals in Corfu[1] and serfs in Wallachia,[2] and it would appear that before the end of the fourteenth century the Gypsies had established themselves widely throughout the Balkan provinces.

A new era in the history of the Gypsies begins early in the fifteenth century. Terrified by the Turkish menace, and fleeing first from those provinces which were either invaded or threatened, a pioneering band of three hundred Gypsies explored Western Europe.[3] Setting out in 1417, these Gypsies travelled with extraordinary rapidity, reaching Hamburg and the other Hanseatic towns in the same year; Leipzig, Frankfurt, Switzerland, and Bavaria in 1418; France and Provence in 1419; Flanders in 1420; Bologna and Rome in 1422. These Gypsy pioneers must, upon their return, have reported favourably on the land of promise, for in 1438 we find them rapidly spreading over every European country, their advent in most cases being speedily followed by statutes passed for their suppression and expulsion.

The routes followed by the ancestors of the present Gypsy inhabitants of any European country, and almost the length of their stay in the lands which they had made their temporary home, is attested by their loan-words. The comparatively large number of words borrowed from Greek, to which I have already referred, is proof of their long sojourn in Eastern and Western Greece. Second only in importance are the Slavic loan-words, which form part of the store of the Gypsies of every land, and thus show for how considerable a period their forebears must have dwelt among Bulgarians, Serbs, and Czechs, before the exodus. From Slav sources the Gypsies have received the names for thunder, lightning, and frost; for chamber, stairs, bed, stable, tent, tavern, beer, and pipe; and their words for gown, coat, mantle, boots, and stockings; while Arm. t'agavor, 'king,' preserved as *tagar* or *dakhar* in some S. Eur. dialects, has given place to Slav. *kralis*, commemorative of the glories of Carolus Magnus. A few Rumanian words such as *smenténa*, 'cream,' *kurúna*, 'crown,' and *mía*, 'mile,' are extant in all the Central and Northern European dialects. While certain Magyar words have been recorded in the dialects of Germany, Russia, and Rumania, they must (as I have

[1] Hopf, *Einwanderung d. Zigeuner in Europa*, p. 17.

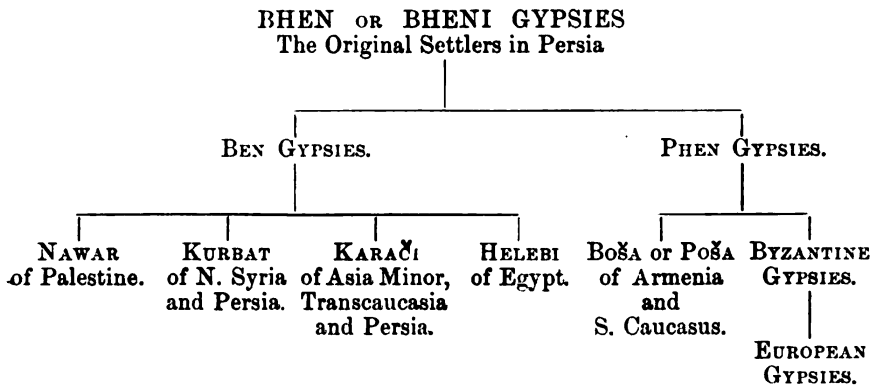
[2] Hopf, *ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] Bataillard, *Beginning of the Immigration of the Gypsies into Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century* (*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., vols. i. and ii.).

shown elsewhere)[1] have been carried there in comparatively modern times by wandering Hungarian Gypsies. Miklosich was therefore mistaken in assuming that the common ancestors of our Gypsies sojourned for some years in Hungary; and we must infer that the original Gypsy settlers in European lands travelled through that country too rapidly to acquire any part of the language. Further traces of travel, if not of prolonged residence, are found in the German elements occurring in Polish, Russian, Scandinavian, and English Gypsy. In addition to these there are in our own Anglo-Romanī some dozen borrowings in evidence of their wanderings in France, among them the words for shop, scales, barn, trencher, dish, pin, and fern.

To recapitulate:—We have traced the journeyings of the Gypsies from the time when, abandoning their Indian home, they entered Persia before 900 A.D., a single race speaking a single language. We have seen their separation into two bands, the *Ben* and the *Phen* Gypsies, the *Ben* Gypsies travelling southwards into Syria, and becoming the ancestors of the Nawar of Palestine, the Kurbat of Syria, the Karači of modern Persia and Transcaucasia, and of the Helebi of Egypt; while the *Phen* Gypsies, after settling for a time in Armenia, migrated westwards through Kurdistan and Byzantine Greece, reaching the Peloponnesus before the end of the eleventh century, whence, *circa* 1440, they overran Europe.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN GYPSIES



[1] *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 177-8.

III.—ANGLO-ROMANI GLEANINGS

(I) From Families frequenting Wales

NOT long after the revival of the Society to its second period of activity a project was formed of putting together some kind of vocabulary of English Romani to illustrate the present state of the dialect as well as to supplement Smart and Crofton's work. But, though a few of the more active members communicated lists of words to the present editor, the results were never published: and now, instead of printing a collective list, it has been thought preferable to divide the material according to localities, so as to illustrate the Romani current in different parts of England.

A beginning is here made with the Gypsies of Wales belonging to families which speak the broken English Romani dialect as distinct from the purer Welsh Romani of the Woods and their offshoots. All of them are in origin English Gypsy families who are comparatively recent immigrants into Wales, with the exception perhaps of the Prices, who seem to have travelled Wales and its borders ever since their ancestor Henry Price, a gorgio from Shropshire, married Helen (or Ellen) Ingram about a hundred and twenty years ago.

The families from which words have been obtained are

(*a*) In North Wales.

(1) The Locks, with their kindred the Taylors, who have been described already in the *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 177-84. Most of the words attributed to this family were obtained by the honorary secretary and the editor from Noah [N. Lock][1] eldest son of Noah Lock and Delaia, daughter of Ezēchiel and Olive Jones, and from his sister Esmeralda [E. Lock], famous for her marriages with two former members of the Society. A few are from their brothers Henry [H. Lock] and Charlie [C. Lock] and their nephew Joe [J. Lock], son of Rabbi Lock and Sūbi Lee or Boswell.[2] To these a few words have been added from a vocabulary taken down by Miss Beatrice Smith from Esmeralda, and kindly lent to us with her leave by the Rev. W. Keatinge Clay.

Hollidays Taylor, mentioned once or twice, is a grandson of

[1] The words in square brackets after the names mentioned in the introductory matter are the forms in which the person's name occurs in the list of words.

[2] Sūbi was a daughter of Dick and Agnes Lee, and Dick was probably son of a mysterious Elijah, who started life as a Boswell and ended it as a Lee. He was not identical with the Elijah Lee of S. Wales mentioned later.

Edward Taylor and Lucy Lock, and son of the notorious Solomon Taylor and 'black' Sarah, daughter of Būi Boswell.

(2) The descendants of Henry Lee, son of Righteous Lee and Peni Cooper, who married Alice Wood, aunt to Matthew (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 371). Here we have had the good fortune to have a vocabulary collected years ago from Henry [H. Lee] himself put at our disposal by Mr. Aldersey. His son Oliver is mentioned once, his full name being used to distinguish him from a S. Welsh Oli Lee.

(3) The Lovells descended from Nathaniel Lovell, a cousin to Būi Boswell's wife, and his two wives Sally and Saifi Scamp (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 194). Most of them are settled now except Charles, better known as Mōti, Lovell [M. Lovell] from whom a few words have been recorded.

(*b*) In South Wales.

(1) Two families of Herons, one descended from Solivaino, the oldest son of old Dick Heron, and the other from Isaac Heron's half-brother Edmund (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 188). Edmund's family is represented here by his sons Caleb [C. Heron] and Fēli [F. Heron], his daughter Lūrīna [L. Ryles], wife of Walter Ryles, and Caleb's wife Dona [D. Heron], by birth a Lee; Solivaino's by Jane [J. Heron], a wife of his grandson Mōti not recorded in Hall's tree of the family, also a Lee by birth.

(2) The Ryles, said by some to be Herons in origin, and connected with the Locks by the marriage of Henry Ryles to Prudence, a daughter of old Henry Lock not mentioned in the account of the Lock family in the *Journal*. Walter, the husband of Lūrīna [L. Ryles], and his son Henry [H. Ryles], are descended from this couple.

(3) The Lees descended from Sampson and Elijah, the two sons of an old Sam Lee, both of whom married daughters of that Ned (*alias* Winggi) Buckland from whom Norwood collected a vocabulary of unusually deep Romani fifty years ago (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 197-8 for the Lees, iii. 216 *foll.* for Ned Buckland). Charlie [C. Lee], said to be the best surviving member of the family, is a son of Sampson and his wife Obadīri; Caleb Heron's wife Dona [D. Heron], a daughter of the same couple; and Oli [O. Lee], a son of their brother Joe.

Elijah's family is represented by his daughter Jane [J. Heron], wife of Mōti Heron, and her son Īza's wife Edith Lee [E. Lee];[1] by Darklis [D. Lee], *née* Price, at one time wife of Perun (*alias* Drūi)

[1] Īza, who is probably not a son of Mōti, uses his mother's name, Lee.

Lee, a grandson of Elijah; and by Bella Lee, a sister to Perun and daughter of Sampson and Gravelini.

John Lee [J. Lee], mentioned on Mr. Myers' authority, belongs to some other family.

(4) The Prices, some of whom travel North as well as South Wales (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 191-2). The only members of this family mentioned by name are an Amos Price [A. Price], nephew of fighting Fred, who was son of Henry Price and his Ingram wife; Sampson [S. Price], son of Chēsi Price and Ashela Florence and grandson of Fred; Darklis [D. Lee], daughter of Chēsi's brother Kradok, and wife of Perun Lee; and an Arthur Price, whose parentage is uncertain. Shuki Price [S. Lee], wife of Bob Lee, is responsible for one form: but her connection with Henry's descendants is not known. Mr. Thompson suggests she may be Shuki, daughter of William Smith and Sēni Price, one of the youngest of Henry's children.

(5) The Lees descended from Josiah Lee, a cousin of the Henry whose family travel North Wales. Josiah was baptized at Sarnesfield in Herefordshire in 1819 together with a brother Frampton: and they were children of Richard Lee and Rhoda Draper. Like the Prices they have Ingram blood in their veins through Rhoda, who was a daughter of Righteous Draper and Rachel Ingram and was baptized at Amersham in Buckinghamshire in 1798. Metraina[1] [M. Burton], wife of Noah Burton, Bob Lee, husband of Shuki Price [S. Lee], and Laila Lee [L. Lee], wife of Gēnus Lee, a son of Sampson, are all children of this Josiah.

(6) The Lovells descended from Slack Lovell (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 196), of whom Syrenda [S. Lovell], son of Frederick and grandson of Slack, is particularly mentioned.

Joe Stokes, from whom one word is recorded, should probably count to these Lovells, as there are people of that name in the Forest of Dean and South Wales, who claim to be Lovells on their mother's side, their father being a gorgio traveller.

(7) The Burtons, descended from Jerry Burton and Harriet, daughter of Slack Lovell (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 195-6). The family came from Devon and Somerset originally; and some of the present generation have Lock blood in them through the marriage of Charlie Burton with Selina, daughter of Henry Organ and Plenty Lock. Richard [R. Burton] is one of their sons.

[1] The North Welsh travellers call this woman Minterēni, which is probably only a corruption of Metraina.

Metraina [M. Burton], as has already been mentioned, is a Lee by birth; and Edith [E. Lee], wife of Īza Lee, is a Burton.

(8) A woman called Boswell or Taylor, who may belong to the Boswell family from which Sūbi Lock came, or to one of the other small families of Boswells who travel S. Wales. It is uncertain too whether her Taylor connection was with the N. Welsh Taylors or the S. Welsh 'little' Taylors, about whom not much is known.

The words from these S. Welsh travellers are practically all taken from a very full and careful collection made by Mr. Myers. The only additions to his valuable list are the few words recorded from Shuki Lee and Sampson Price, and some from a so-called Jack Price [J. Price]. The latter was a man of about thirty, when he visited Oxford in 1911, and he said his father was Cornelius, son of Chēsi Price, and his mother Ashela Heron, second cousin to Caleb. His wife he called Miriam Heron. No such persons, however, are known to any authorities on the Price and Heron families: and other travellers have identified the couple—they were easy to describe, as he lacked the thumb of his right hand and she was very cross-eyed—as Jack Stubbs and Mary Ann, granddaughter of Chēsi and Ashela Price. He is said by some to be a *pošrat* from Lancashire, by others to be a gorgio brought up by Gypsies. In any case, his early years seem to have been spent among Gypsies in S. Wales and the Forest of Dean, and his Romani is obviously of a Welsh brand and akin to that of the Prices.

The list of words which follows must not be taken as a complete vocabulary of the district; common words have intentionally been omitted. It is only intended to comprise, besides a few new words, such variations from the form or meaning of words recorded in Smart and Crofton's vocabulary as have been noted, and such words as in the collector's or the editor's opinion are rare now, even when they occur in Smart and Crofton in exactly the same form. Here, of course, there has been some difference of opinion. *Hūfa* and *tamlo*, for instance, were recorded by Mr. Myers as rare words from C. Heron and C. Lee respectively, and in the South of England they are certainly very rare: but in the North according to Mr. Thompson *hūfa* is common, and *tamlo* relatively so. On the other hand *stogus*, noted as fairly common in S. Wales—and quite common in the South of England—and *filisin*, in general use among most of these Welsh Gypsies, and not uncommon in the form *filišin*, which is that used by L. Ryles, in the South of England, he regards as comparatively rare in the

North. Generally in such doubtful cases the word has been included.

Survivals of inflexions and conjugations, commoner perhaps among these Gypsies than anywhere in England, are printed separately and not repeated in the main list of words.

The spelling adopted is that suggested by Dr. Sampson in the *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 91-3, with a few modifications. *j* is used instead of *ǰ*, which is perhaps rather misleading to English readers: and in verbal endings *-er* is printed, as it indicates the original form, though *ə* would probably represent the sound better. No distinction is drawn between *o* and *ɔ*, and *o* is used for both.

For that, and for many other unintentional misrepresentations of sounds, indulgence must be craved, as the list is based on words taken down in various spellings by various collectors, none of them professional phoneticians. Generally they used, for instance, a system which did not pretend to distinguish between *-eŋgro* and *-eŋro*:[1] and as the records were made in most cases a long time ago they cannot be expected to remember what the exact sound was in all cases. Probably all the final *o*'s and *u*'s would be more correctly represented as *ō*, *ū*.

Where Esmeralda Lock's words and sentences appear in an unusual spelling, they have been taken from her letters to Mr. Thompson, and her own spelling retained.

Special peculiarities in the Romani used by these Gypsies are:—

(1) As might be supposed, forms adopted from or approximating to Welsh Romani occur occasionally among them; e.g. *učer* or *wučer* for the ordinary *wuser*.

(2) All, except perhaps the Herons, prefer *jun* or *jon* to the ordinary *jin*.

(3) They all show a tendency to lengthen final *-o* into *-ū*: e.g. *bukú*, C. Heron; *kindū*, S. Welsh Herons; *kokerú*, N. Lock; *mokadū*, S. Welsh Lees and Herons; *šukū*, deaf, L. Ryles; and the more curious *koŋglū* (for *koŋgli*) of J. Heron.

In other positions *u*, *ū* are sometimes replaced by *o*, *ō*; e.g. *tov*, S. Welsh Gs., and *dōi*, H. Taylor.

(4) The Locks, except Esmeralda, use *pīri* instead of *kekavi*.

(5) Mr. Myers says that he has never heard *dɔ̄*—an exceedingly common form elsewhere—in S. Wales; that *rašai* is replaced by

[1] The form in *ŋg* has been adopted for all doubtful forms, as it is the sound generally heard.

rašrai; and that *raklo*—perhaps rare anywhere—and *parik*—rare in the South of England—are also unknown to his Gypsies.

(6) He also notes that the Herons and Lees use *mino*—a common form in the South of England, whence the Lees at any rate came—in place of the *mīro* of the other families of this part and the North of England.

(7) In S. Wales there seems to be a tendency to turn *a* into *o*; e.g. *konófia*, C. Heron; *toto*, S. Lee; and *oč*, which however is a common form anywhere.

The Burtons use *ova* or *owli* for 'yes'; the Lees and Herons *āwa*; and the Locks generally *auwə*, though Esmeralda in letters writes *owli*, *owaly*.

Grammatical Survivals

Verbal Forms

Present Indicative:—

1st person singular:—*junáva*, H. Lock; *na junáv mē kek*, N. Lock; *na komáv mē kavá*, N. Lock; *reperava*, H. Lee; *šom*, E. Lock; *owly penovr mandy*, E. Lock.

Misused:—*lovə* used by the Burtons as a root form meaning 'have,' instead of the usual *lel*: e.g. *lovə dova* your *kokero*.

2nd person singular:—*junés?* don't you know? N. Lock; *junesa*, you know, H. Lock; you *junés*, J. Lock; *šūnés?* do you hear? N. Lock; *so kesa odoi*, N. Lock; *kel so komesa*, L. Ryles and family; *kai jasa*, C. Lee; *Romanó šan?*; *Romané šan?*; *šar* (*šor*) *šan tu?*; *pošeno šan*, N. Lock; *bokalo šan*, E. Lock.

Misused:—*mišto šan*, I am glad, N. Lock; *mandy comessar*, E. Lock; *mandi kek komesa*, J. Price.

3rd person singular:—*oki*, *muskro vela*, N. Lock; *bišinela*, J. and E. Lock; *dukovela*, H. Lee; *sumela*, C. Lee; *avela*, E. Lock; *sī* (*common*).

Misused:—*bišinela*, rain (substantive), J. and E. Lock; you *šūnela*, H. Lock; the mumply *gorgoes keker jineller so mandy pens*, E. Lock; *dikeller tooty?* did you see? E. Lock; *mandy see tugno*, I am sorry, E. Lock, who also uses *sī* correctly in *se tugno asar* to *shoon*, it is sad to hear.

Misused and malformed:—*kai jasela?* Where are you going? E. Lock.

1st person plural:—*jas ameŋi*, E. Lock; *jas ameŋgi, mino kokú*, Oli Lee; *ke maŋkasi*, —— Price, explained as *maŋ kisi*, 'beg plenty'; but probably really a corruption of *maŋgasa*.

2nd person plural misused:—to *den lesti čī*, M. Lovell.

PAST TENSE:—

2nd person singular:—*kedán?* have you cooked? H. Lock.

3rd person singular:—*pendas* and *pendás*, N. and H. Lock. The latter used it also for 'they said' and both for 'I said'; *mordas*, H. Lee. *sas*, H. and E. Lock, H. Ryles, Burtons.

IMPERATIVE. C. Lee uses the correct *dē man* instead of the ordinary *del*.

Imperative in *-ta*:—*keteneski jōta*, H. Lee; *didt'* [=*dikta*] *ū pūro rai*, E. Lock; *dikta, šūnta*, E. Lock; *avadai*, E. Lee, translated as 'out here,' but really *avata* with the ending assimilated to *akai*. Cf. also *šil infra*.

PAST PARTICIPLES not in common use:—*giló, kedó*, H. Lock; *perdó*, N. Lock; *dino, giló* (*gilé*), *tildo, tildó, tildé*, E. Lock; and the incorrect *leldo*, N. Lock; *kelo* [=*kedo*], J. Price; *kederd*, E. Lock.

PASSIVE:—*čī na mulə̄*, C. Lee. See also *divóla* in the vocabulary.

SUBSTANTIVES

Plural forms in *-ē, -é* (sometimes pronounced *ī* by the Locks), *ɔ̄, ɔ́*, are used fairly frequently by the Locks and most of the older Gypsies; e.g. *barɔ́, bōlt, čavé, čavī, gōjt*, E. Lock; *kalɔ̄* (cheeses), N. Lock; *jukəlɔ́, kulɔ́*, H. Lock; *Romané*, N. Lock; *muskré*, H. Lock; *gōji*, J. Lock; *kōlé* and *juviɔ́*, Locks; *kēlt*, N. Lock; *verdé*, cards, H. Lee. H. Lock occasionally uses *-ā* instead of *ɔ̄*, possibly under the influence of his wife's Welsh Romani: e.g. *juviā, rukā*. And both Henry and Charlie Lock use the Welsh form *'kā* for the plural of *yak*.

Double plurals, e.g. *fōkiɔ̄* and *gruviɔ̄s* are used by J. Lock; and *kopiɔ̄s*, 'blankets,' by D. Heron.

Noah Lock uses the plural in *-āri* correctly in *mumpāri* and incorrectly in *mušāri, rukāri, trupāri*.

Vocative Plural:—*čavóle*, N. Lock; *raile*, E. Lock.

Dative Plural:—*mi duvəlesti!* 'My God!' E. Lock; *dūvəlesti!* 'By God!' S. Welsh Herons; 'God bless you,' L. Ryles.

Ablative Plural:—*so* shall we *kel* wi' *kova grensa te rāti*, C. Lee.

The genitival formation in *-eski* is incorrectly used in *keteneski jōta* by H. Lee, and corrupted to *-esi* in *jukəlesi kərri*, N. Lock; and *bengesi juvəl*, J. Lock.

Rarer Pronominal Forms

1st person:—*mē*, N. Lock.

man (accusative), e.g. *kēr man nasvalo*, N. Lock; *dē man* (for *mandi*), C. Lee.

mendi, H. Lock; *sor mendy asar naflo*, E. Lock.

jas ameŋi, E. Lock; *jas ameŋgi*, C. Lee.

mansa, with us, to us, E. Lock.

2nd person:—*tu*: *šor šan tu*, N. Lock and S. Welsh Herons and Lees. Incorrectly used as Accusative in *beŋ te taser tu*, C. Heron.

tut; *parako tut*, C. Lee.

tusa, for all cases, some Prices. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 153.

3rd person:—*yov*, *yoi* are used occasionally by all the older Gypsies, but not always correctly; e.g. *yov* is recorded for 'him' and 'she' as well as for 'he' from N. and J. Lock; and *yoi* for 'her.' Esmeralda Lock in her letters curiously uses *yov* for 'he' and *youv* for 'she.'

lati, her, M. Burton; *laki*, L. Ryles.

lendi, them, they, she, her, E. Lock.

For *les*, *len* see *asarləs*, *asarlən* in the vocabulary.

The article *o* (*ū*), rare now, is recorded from C. Lee in *longo 'drē o piko*, and frequently from Esmeralda, e.g. *dovr see ou drom*; *kushto dives mandy leled doy*, *dray o berro pray o parne sar koose charrous*; incorrectly sometimes, e.g. *o raunie*; *o canney lutzav yoro*.

Accentuation of the final syllable of words is still fairly common among all the older and better Gypsies of this part.

Vocabulary

adōsta, enough, H. Lock. [S. and C. *adoósta* and *doósta*, the normal form.]

[*adral*, through], *trōl*, H. Lee. [S. and C. *adrál*.]

aglan, before: *aglan* the *gōje*, J. Lock. Cf. Welsh G., *aŋlán*. [S. and C. *agál*, *aglál*.]

ajō, so that, E. Lock: *bitcher* to *mandy sig ajor mandy* can *pooker tooty kie* we are *jass*ing. [S. and C. *ajáw*, thus, so.]

apadəl, (1) over: *wučer* it *apadəl* the *bor*, N. Lock. [S. and C. *paudál*, *paúdel*.]

(2) behind: *apaddle* the *vardo*, E. Lock, as the address of a letter.

See also *padəl*.

apalə̄, (1) behind, N. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 215, *ăpállŏ*. [S. and C. *pálla* as well as *paúli*, *paulé*.]

(2) from, E. Lock; *mandy comesser* to *shoon apaller tooty sig*; *mandy shom mishto* to *shoon apaller tooty apoply*.

(3) with, E. Lock; *so see dush pàller tooty?* What is the matter with you?

arí, from, E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 2. [S. and C. *avrée*.]

asár, used to emphasize a Romani word or apologize for an English one. [S. and C. *asár*.] *asə́*, L. Ryles; *čiči asə́*, nothing at all. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *asau*. From using the word to apologize for English prepositions (for instances see below, *asarlən*) E. Lock has come to use it to replace prepositions and even conjunctions:

(1) for: *paraco tooty asar tootys chinamengri*; *paracko tooty doster asar tootys kushto rokermus*.

(2) from: *mandy keker shoon apoply asar dovr rei*.

(3) at: *lesty* [=she] *se kelling mishto connor asar* the *rokermus*.

(4) since: *doster asar* it *dicks asar tooty jassed*.

(5) when: *mandy se duie* or *trin waver lavs* to *pucker tooty asar tooty vels akie*.

In some cases the word is altered to *sar*; e.g. *paracko tooty sar tootys kushtie chinamengry*; *kushto dives mandy leled doy, dray o berro pray o parne sar koose charrous* (=for a little while).

asarləs (=*asar les*) has become one word and is used by N. Lock for 'him' or 'them.' Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (1907), *asarlas*, 'at all'; but in the instance on p. 76, 'It is my Dovvel's kerrimus, and we can't help asarlus,' it is used in the ordinary way to apologize for the English word 'help.'

asarlən (=*asar len*) is similarly used by E. Lock for 'him,' 'her,' 'them'; *jas* and *dick asarlan*, 'Go and see him.' But the following examples from her letters show that here too it was originally used to apologize for English prepositions: *mor tooty pen* any *lav* to *asarln* (to him); *pucker mandy sor*

about *asarlan* (about her); *mandy see tugno* for *asarlan* (for her).

baieŋgri see *būyeŋgri*.

baleŋgro, hare, Boswell-Taylor woman. From *bal*, 'hair.'

baŋgo, crooked, H. Lee. Cf. Harriott's vocab.; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 6; and Bryant's *ibid.*, iv. 187. [S. and C. *bóngo*.]

bar, stone; *bar pobo*, plum, R. Burton.

basavo, basabo, bad, Locks; *besabi*, M. Burton. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 79. [S. and C. *vásavo*.]

bičer, send: *bičano pādəl*, transported, J. Price; *biči pōdəl*, Boswell-Taylor woman. [S. and C. *bítchadi paúdel*.]

biser, forget, E. Lock. [S. and C. *bísser*.]

bišeno, rain, M. Lovell; *bišenó*, N. Lock (it's *delin bišenó*); *bišin*, L. Lee; *bišnū, brišnū*, J. Heron. [S. and C. *bíshno*.]

bišinela, (1) it rains, (2) rain (subs.), Locks.

bivan košt, (1) green wood, a nephew of Walter Ryles; (2) 'wickey' (i.e. mountain ash), N. Lock. [S. and C. *bívan-kosht*.]

bókaša, sheep, N. Lock; *bókaþa*, some S. Welsh Gs.; *bókata*, S. Lovell; *bókati*, M. Lovell; *bókača*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *bókocho*.]

bombáriəs, elephant, E. Lock; *bombériəs*, N. Lock. [S. and C. *búmbaros*, monkey.]

bor, garden: *boreŋgro*, gardener, H. Lee. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *bar*, and Paspati's *bári*. [S. and C. *bor*, hedge.]

bostāro, bastard, R. Burton; *boštardi*, pregnant with a bastard, N. Lock. [S. and C. *boshtárdus*.]

boš, a ring, Hollidays Taylor. Possibly *boš*, to make a noise, used for 'to ring' and then for 'a ring.'

bošav, bark, cackle, clamour, etc., E. Lock; the *jukəl*'s *bošav*ing; the *kani*'s *bošav*ing; the *muš* is *bošav*ing for his *hoben* like a *buklo jukəl*. [S. and C. *bosh*, bark.]

boštreŋgi, be quiet, M. Burton. Cf. Way, *No. 747*, p. 200, *bosthrengi*.

brandəl, saw, J. Price. Possibly cant; but cf. *randlaný*, harrow (Miklosich, *Mundarten*, viii. 55-6).

brokən, Welsh (language), D. Lee. Possibly cant, or, as Dr. Sampson suggests, 'broken' (language).

budikeŋgro muš, shopkeeper, N. Lock. [S. and C. *boódegaméngro*.] Noah also uses *burika* for 'shop,' a form not recorded in S. and C., though common.

bər, berry, in *kōlo bər*, blackberry, E. Lock. Presumably the English word corrupted.

būyeŋgri, trousers, H. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 74, *buíngera, bungera. Baieŋgri*, A. and J. Price, by confusion between this word and *baieŋgri*, waistcoat.

bušahṓ, skewers, F. Heron. Cf. Way, *No. 747*, pp. 38, 82, 215, *busahor*. Cf. Welsh G. *buzexá*, spurs.

buzno, goat, E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 74.

byūrəs, room, J. Price and the Locks, except Noah, who pronounces it *bīrəs*. [S. and C. *beúrus*.]

čalav, touch, N. Lock, Arthur Price. [S. and C. *chálav*.]

čī, something: to *den lesti čī*, M. Lovell: anything, *čī na mulō*, C. Lee.

čib, tongue; *čibeŋgro*, lawyer, H. Lee.

čibalo dōri, telegraph wire, N. Lock; *čibaleŋgro*, lawyer, N. Lock. [S. and C. *chib*, tongue.]

čok, shoe; *gresko čok*, horseshoe, H. Lee. [S. and C. *gréi-esto chok*.]

čovihṓn, wizard, N. Lock; *čoviχōni*, witch, H. Lock; *čovikanón*, witch, E. Lock. [S. and C. *chóvihóni, choóvikon*, witch.]

čumba-jukəl, lion, E. Lock. *Lit.* 'mountain dog.'

čumer-dad, grandfather, A. Price. Possibly a mistake for 'godfather,' as *čumer*d has been recorded for 'christened' from Oši Buckland (*née* Doe). The latter, as Dr. Sampson suggests, may be due to a dialect form 'kissen' for 'christen'; cf. the Yorkshire form 'kessen' in Wright's *English Dialect Dict.*

čumóni, something, Burtons, Lees, and Herons. [S. and C. *choómoni*.]

čūnū, moon, E. Lock; *šōnəs*, N. Lock; cf. Welsh G. *šonus*. [S. and C. *choom, shoon*.]

čuriōdas, shoes, A. Price. An interesting form of the word *čiraχ*, retaining, as Dr. Sampson points out, the medial *r* lost in Welsh G. *čioχ*, though the unfamiliar *χ* is corrupted to *d*.

dā! lo! *dā te keriben!* E. Lock, quoting her father Noah. Normally she uses the common *dō*, which curiously does not occur in S. and C.

dad, father: *kek dadas*'s *čavi*, Oliver Lee; *dadeŋgro tikno*, bastard, Boswell-Taylor woman. [S. and C. *dad, dadéŋgro*.]

dādi, dádia, lo! Locks. Cf. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 85, *dádia*. [S. and C. *dórdi*'.]

delməs, pelting rain: *dō te delməs*, N. Lock.

delamester, hammer, R. Burton. [S. and C. *déloméskro*].

dī, dear, H. Lock; in *mi dī duvél*. English 'dear.'

divi juvəl, midwife, R. Burton. A confusion of 'mid' and 'mad.' [S. and C. *dívi-gáiri.*]

divóla čoro čavo, an exclamation known to J. Price, who could not translate it. Possibly the first word is *devlōle*, 'ye gods,' or, if one dare suggest a passive, *diviola*, he is mad: or, as Dr. Sampson suggests, a variant of *dinvaro* or a confusion of *divio* and *dinelo.*

draber, to poison, J. Lock. A common use, for which cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46.

druker, to tell fortunes, M. Lovell. Cf. *drūkerimóngero*, *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 75. [S. and C. *dúkker*, *doórik.*]

eka, haste, in *kēr eka*, Ryles. [S. and C. *héka.*]

enea, nine, N. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 185 (Bryant) and ii. 174 (Whiter).

erīza, see *hero.*

fetəl, to shoe a horse, J. Price. [S. and C. *pétal*, horseshoe.]

flīa, behind: *flīa* the *bor*, Boswell-Taylor woman. Dr. Sampson suggests *flī* may be a corruption of *pala ī.*

fuzeŋgri, fern, H. Lee. [S. and C. *foozhaári*, Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *fuzyanri.*]

garav, hide: *gerides*, *girides*, secretly, E. Lock; *gavenes*, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *gárav*, *gáridnes*, *gárones.*]

gili tuvelo, cigarette paper, E. Lock. *Gili* is used by some Gypsies for 'paper'; cf. S. and C. *ghílyaws*, newspapers.

gladimen, glad, H. Lock. A Welsh G. use.

gozvero, cunning; *guzveri*, H. Lock; *gozvero gōjo*, wizard, N. Lock; *guzveri gōjo*, E. Lock, to whom *gussoree gorgio* is also attributed in the report of her divorce proceedings in the *Standard* for March 2, 1876. [S. and C. *gózvero.*]

gureni, cow, H. Lee. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *gúrni*; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 221, *góorănĕ*, iv. 185, *geronee.* [S. and C. *groóvni.*]

guruv, bull, E. Lock, in *dō te guruv*, used as a term of abuse of a man; *mušeno gruveno*, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *grōv*, Paspati *guruv.*]

haier, understand, C. Heron. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46, *heïavóva*; ii. 3, *haiër.*

hanj, itch (substantive), H. Lee. [S. and C. *honj.*]

hero, leg: *erīza*, breeches and leggings, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *héro*, leg, and *eézaw*, clothes.]

hočov, *hočiov*, he said, E. and H. Lock; but E. Lock generally uses

hočoi or *hočioi* for 'I,' 'he,' or 'they said.' The word is generally referred to English 'quotha'; but cf. the use of *cháči* (=χači) by Patkanoff's Russian Gypsies, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 122. [S. and C. *hótchi-yov, -yói, hótch'ov.*]

hoχanu, liar, C. Lee. [S. and C. *hókano, hóχanó.*]

hoïno, angry: *huno*, C. Heron; *hini*, Boswell-Taylor woman; *ə̄no*, S. Welsh Lees. [S. and C. *hóno, hóino*, etc.]

īza, see *hero*.

jal, go; *jas* is commonly used as the root form as well as *jō* and *jal*. *keteneski jōta*, go together, H. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 76, *játha*; Leland, *English Gs.*, 227-8, *jō-ter*. [S. and C. *jól-ta.*]

jīr, rump, N. Lock, who regards it as an English dialect word. [S. and C. *jeer.*]

jorna, bone: in *balovas jorna*, ham bone, J. Price.

jukəleŋgro, keeper, Joe Stokes.

jun, know, Locks, except Esmeralda, who uses *jin*; *jun* and *jon*, Prices. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 79. [S. and C. *jin.*]

kafi, horseshoe nail, E. Lock. [S. and C. *kraáfni.*]

kai, what: *kai sī* the *ora*, J. Price. [S. and C. *kei*, where.]

kōle, Gypsies, Locks. A Welsh G. use.

kamoben, health, H. Lee. [S. and C. *kómoben*, love, etc.]

kamya, sun, E. Lock. A strange instance of plural for singular. [S. and C. *kam.*]

kand, ear, H. Lee. [S. and C. *kan.*]

kanios, ear-rings, L. Ryles; *kanioþ*, J. Heron. [S. and C. *kanéngro.*]

kando, hungry, M. Lovell.

kaŋgeri, church, H. Lock. [S. and C. *kóngeri.*]

kasm, cheese, S. Welsh Lovells. Cant 'cassan' 'cassam' (Farmer and Henley, *Dict. of Slang, s.v.*). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 44 (Scoto-Romani).

kavá, this, N. Lock. [S. and C. *akóvva, 'kóvva, kávakéi.*]

ke, (1) forming subjunctive, *ke maŋkasi*, —— Price. For *te*.

(2) to: *o charrous dicks doster ki mandy*, E. Lock, who uses *ti* as well as *te*; *ke-diwes*, day, A. Price, a misuse of 'to-day.'

kekādi, kettle, Prices. [S. and C. *kekávi.*]

kekənai, no (emphatic), N. Lock. A compound of *kekə̄* and *nai* (it is not).

kekərašta, magpie, J. Price. [S. and C. *kákarátchi.*]

kelameskro, actor, Burtons. [S. and C. *kéloméngro*, performer.]

kēlí, hedge-stakes, N. Lock. Cf. Welsh G. *kērlō* and Miklosich, *Mundarten*, vii. 83, *kilo*.

kerastə in *bōri kerastə*, turkey, N. Lock. Dr. Sampson suggests that this may be *bōri kereski kani* abbreviated.

keriben, doings: *dā te keriben*, E. Lock, quoting her father: trouble, R. Burton; *kəraben* 'd *opré*, locked up, R. Burton. [S. and C. *kériben*, behaviour.]

ketnes, together, S. Welsh Herons; *keteneski jōta*, go together, H. Lee. [S. and C. *kétanes*.]

kisi, sufficient: *kisi* for your *kokero*, Burtons. [S. and C. *kísi*, much.]

klismaŋgri, lock, C. Heron. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *klísino-méngro*. [S. and C. *klérin*, *klísin*.]

kluč-boreŋgro, hedge-stake, J. Price. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 3, *klucheni*.

kom, pleased: *mandy see come* to *shoon*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *kom*, to love.]

komoni, lot: *sor* the *komoni*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *kómeni*, some: *dósta-kómeni*, a great multitude.]

kon, what, E. Lock. [S. and C. *kon*, who.]

koredō, blind, H. Lee; *kurodū*, Boswell-Taylor woman; *kurono*, L. Ryles; *kurovi*d, C. Heron. [S. and C. *kóro*, *kóredo*.]

korelo, cunning, N. Lock.

kotor, piece: *sō* to *kokoreŋgri*s, all to pieces, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *kótor*, *kotoréndi*.]

kovni, drunk, fuddled, E. Lock. Cf. perhaps *kovlo*, weak, *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 76, used also for idiotic, Way, *No. 747*, p. 220, and Welsh G., *kovlo*, smooth, soft.

kralis, king, N. and E. Lock; *kral*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *krális*.]

krōmi, pheasant, R. Burton. Probably slang.

kukolí, doll, N. Lock. [S. and C. *koókelo*.]

kunsa, corner, L. Ryles. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 215. [S. and C. *koónsus*.]

kəra, tin, J. Lee. [S. and C. *kúrri*.]

kuruv, pint or pot (of beer), N. Lock. [S. and C. *koóri*, *kóro*, *kúra*.]

lāter, find, J. Price. Cf. Welsh G. *l'at*. [S. and C. *latch*.]

liknəs, lice, a S. Welsh Lee. [S. and C. *lik*, nit.]

*liveŋgri*s, hops, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *livenéngri*es.]

loč, *luč*, *ločer*, *lučer*, *lučav*, *lutzav*, lay (an egg), Locks. *loč*, *luč*, nest, N. Lock. Cf. Welsh G. *loč*, *lots*. The forms in *-av* are relics

of the passive formation, which as Dr. Sampson points out is found in most of the foreign dialects that use the word. Cf. Mikl., i. 22; viii. 8.

[*lod*], lodge: *lulerben kēr*, S. Welsh Gs.; *lubni kēr*, as well as *ludiben kēr*, J. Price—by mistake, one may hope. [S. and C. *loódopen.*]

loŋgo, lame, *loŋgo 'drē o piko*, C. Lee. [S. and C. *long.*]

Lundri, London, E. Lock, *o boro gav Lundrie.* [S. and C. *Lúndra, Lúndro, Lónderi.*]

manča tu, cheer up, S. Welsh Herons and Lees; *manšen, čai*, cheer up, girl, N. Lock; *mə manšen*, don't be downhearted, N. Lock. The *mə* of the last example seems to be added wrongly, unless it should be separated by a comma from the succeeding word and some such word as *rov* understood with it. [S. and C. *mántchi, -a.*]

mas, sheep (pl. *masə̄*), N. Lock. [S. and C. *mas.*]

maseŋgro, shepherd, N. Lock. [S. and C. *maséngro*, butcher. Cf. also their *baséngro*, shepherd.]

minə̄? eh? Locks: always used at the end of a sentence, e.g. *tooty jins dovr asar, minaw?* E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *minάw.*

mišto, glad: *mandy shom mishto* to *shoon apaller tooty apoply*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *míshto.*]

mižiben, mižipen, badness, danger, Locks; *mišipen*, mischief, H. Lee; *kel* you a *miši*, do you a mischief, S. Price. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 4; iii. 77.

mōrimeŋgri, razor, N. Lock; *murameŋgro*, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C., *móroméngro, mórovméngro.*]

moripen, murder, L. Ryles. Cf. Way, *No. 747*, p. 57.

motado, drunk, E. and H. Lock. [S. and C. *mótto.*]

mukləs, let: *muklus mandi jas*; *mukls* mumply *gorgoes jas* to *beng*, E. Lock. Presumably the ending is the pronoun *les* added by mistake. [S. and C. *mook, muk.*]

mulə̄, it is worth: *čī na mulə̄*, it does not matter, C. Lee. Cf. Welsh G. *mola.* C. Lee also uses it as an adj., e.g. *kova's mula a bar.* [S. and C. *moll, mul*, worth.]

mulopen, funeral, S. Welsh Herons.

munjer, pinch, N. Lock. [S. and C. *moónjer.*]

mūri, mūrimeŋgri, moor, hill, H. Lock, who attributes *morimeŋgri* to other Gypsies. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 80, and Welsh G. *mūra.*

na, not: *čī na mulə̄*, C. Lee; *na komáv mē kavá*, N. Lock; *na junáv mē kek*, N. Lock. [S. and C. *na*.]

nai, never, S. Welsh Herons. Cf. *kekənai* above.

nasvaló, *nasvalo*, ill, Locks, H. Lee. [S. and C. *náfalo*, *násfalo*.]

nēvo, *nēvi*, new, Locks. [S. and C. *névo*.]

noŋgermәs, nakedness, E. Lock.

okta, eight, J. Price; *oito*, N. Lock. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (London, 1907), p. 118, *ochto*; Leland, *English G. Songs*, *oitoo*; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 177, *okto* (Whiter), iii. 214, *okto* (Norwood), iv. 181, *oitoo* (Bryant).

pa, for, over, E. Lock. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *pa*, by; Leland, *English G. Songs*, *pā*, for, on, by, near; Way, *No. 747*, p. 19, *pa*, with; p. 180, *por*, p. 333, *pau*, for; p. 330, *pau*, by. English 'for' corrupted.

padəl, across, behind, Locks, except Joe, who pronounces it *pādəl*. [S. and C. *párdal*, *párdel*.] See also *apadəl*.

paler, follow, J. Price. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, and Way, *No. 747*, pp. 58, 64, *paller*, and Welsh G. *palyer*.

pandopen, pound, J. Price. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *panderpen*. [S. and C. *pándoméngro*.]

paraker, thank, H. Lock; *parako*, C. Lee and E. Lock; *mandy parrocks*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *párik*.]

patser, trust, H. Lee; *paser*, S. Welsh Herons. [S. and C. *pátser*.]

patser tooty ajor? don't you think so? E. Lock.

pasaben, credit, trust. [S. and C. *pátsaben*, belief.]

pīri, kettle, Locks. [S. and C. *peéri*, cauldron.]

pīri-saster, *pīrimeŋgro*, kettle-prop, Locks.

[*piriv*], woo: *pearnie*, *piernie*, sweetheart, E. Lock. [S. and C. *pírino*.]

piš-tud, buttermilk, E. Lock. The first part of the compound may be the root *piš*, to milk, for which cf. Paspati, p. 439.

pišimo, flea, Boswell-Taylor woman. [S. and C. *písham*.]

poči, pocket, some S. Wales Gs. [S. and C. *póchi*.]

podous [=*podūs*], waggon-steps, E. Lock. Cf. *pódas*, *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47. [S. and C. *poórdas*, stairs.]

pogado pər, rupture, N. Lock.

poš-kelo, half-breed, J. Price.

pošenó šan? are you having me on? Also used of any one making himself appear innocent with intent to deceive, N. Lock. Cf. H. Smith, *Tent-life*, p. 382, *poshavaben*, false laughter;

Leland, *English G. Songs, prasser*; *English Gs.* p. 94, *pross, prasser*; Welsh G., *pas*; Mikl., viii. 5.

pugəmasá, monkey, N. Lock. Cf. Leland, *pukkus-asa*, and Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, where it is explained as the English 'pug,' *-us* and *asar*.

puravin luva, small change, Burtons. [S. and C. *púraben*, exchange.]

pūri, tail, N. Lock. [S. and C. *póri*.]

purišnū, buried, L. Ryles. [S. and C. *porasto*.]

pūro, old: *pūrikanó*, E. Lock. [S. and C. *poóro, poórokono*.]

pušli, confined in childbirth, J. Price. [S. and C. *póshli*.]

p'uker, talk, M. Lovell. [S. and C. *poóker*.] Mikl., viii. 44, only records the aspirated form of this word from Bohemian Romani.

rak, mind, take care, S. Welsh Gs. [S. and C. *rak*.]

rankano, pretty, Locks, except Esmeralda, who uses *rinkeno*. [S. and C. *rínkeno*.]

rašrōni, pious woman, H. Lock. A fairly common word, though not in S. and C.

rātí, night, Locks. H. Lock lengthens the *a* very pronouncedly. [S. and C. *raáti*.]

reperava, remember, H. Lee. [S. and C. *répper*.]

rid, search, L. Ryles. [S. and C. *rōd*.]

rider, dress, E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47. [S. and C. *riv*.]

ridepen, dress (subs.), E. Lock. [S. and C. *rívoben, roódopen*.]

rom, wife, M. Burton. [S. and C. *rom*, husband.]

ruja, flower, H. Lee. Plur. *ružnəs*, E. Lock; *rūznis*, L. Ryles; *rušnīs*, —— Burton. For the first form cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 178, *reuje* (Whiter). [S. and C. *rózali, rósheo, roózha*.]

ruzlo, strong, H. Lee. [S. and C. *roózlo, rúzlo*.]

sar, how; *šar* and *šor* are both heard fairly commonly from Gs. in this district and elsewhere. [S. and C. *sar*.]

savo, which? what kind of? *savo burika* is the *fetōdíro?* N. Lock; *savo tuvlo sī kova?* C. Lee. [S. and C. *savo*, who, what.]

seleno, village green, common, J. Price. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 78, *saleno*, green; Leland, *English G. Songs, selno*.

siv, needle, J. Heron. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs, siv*. [S. and C. *soov*.]

stādo, hat, J. Heron. [S. and C. *staádi*.]

staromeygre, criminals, jail-birds, E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *staromeskries*; Way, *No. 747*, p. 84, *staramescro*, imprisoned.

sumer, to boil, J. Price. Cf. Shandres Smith's *simen* and Welsh G., *čimerimen*, fried. Presumably English 'simmer.'

sutlo, sour, H. Lee. [S. and C. *shoótlo*.]

šōnəs, see *čūnū*.

šel, 100; *poš šel*, 50, N. Lock. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *shel*, and p. 70, *pāsh-a-shél*. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (London, 1907), p. 118.

šelo, rope; *šolo*, M. Burton. [S. and C. *shélo*, *shólo*.]

šero šeleŋgo, halter, N. Lock, though *šereŋgo šelo* would be more sensible.

šero, head; *šereŋgri*, umbrella, H. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 80, *sheréngro* from his son Oliver.

šeromeŋgro, bridle, N. Lock. [S. and C. *sheréngro*.]

šil, whistle, *šil*ing, C. Heron; *šilto*ing, Bella Lee—presumably imper. in *-ta* misused. [S. and C. *shool*, *shol*.]

šoro, boaster, L. Ryles. [S. and C. *shor*, to praise.]

šošeŋgro muš, poacher, N. Lock.

šukō, hush: *šuknés*, quietly, L. Ryles. [S. and C. *shookár*, *shookés*.]

šuklōs, bones, N. Lock, which looks like a portmanteau formation from *šuko*, dry, and *kokalo*s, bones.

šuši, *šušai*, rabbit, J. Price. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 81, *shŭshaí*. [S. and C. *shúshi*.]

ta, and; rare, except in cases like *dūi trins ta yek* used by S. Welsh Gs. [S. and C. *ta*.]

talal, under, H. Lee. [S. and C. *talé*, *tálla*.]

tantolardəs, crow, J. Price. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 224, *tŏltălárdéŭs* and Way, *No. 747*, p. 219, *tautoleero*.

tav, lace, E. Lock. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 81. [S. and C. *tav*, thread.]

terilimәs, delay: *dō terilimәs* or *dádia te lesti terilimәs!* what a time he is keeping us! N. Lock. Cf. Mikl., viii. 79, *ter*.

til, catch: *til maće*, N. Lock. [S. and C. *til*, hold.]

trōl, see *adral*.

trupāri, knee-breeches, N. Lock. [S. and C. *troópo*, *troópus*, body.]

truslo, cross, E. Lock. [S. and C. *troóshel*, *troóshilo*.]

valandō, bottle, H. Ryles. Possibly by confusion with 'lavender,' which Phoebe Smith of Reading used once, correcting herself to *valin*.

varten, to watch, E. Lock. [S. and C. *várter*.]

wōŋgušō, ring, L. Ryles. [S. and C. *wangúshters*, pl.]

wīaben, nasty, Locks; *kova livina's wīaben*; it's a *wīaben tan* to *ač*, E. Lock; what a *wīaben kolǰ* C.'s *kērd*, H. Lock. Explained by N. Lock as *wafadiben*, but really Welsh G. *χuīīmen*.

wiv, snow, D. Heron. [S. and C. *iv*, etc.]

Wolšeneŋgo tem, Wales, Locks.

wučer, Locks, H. Lee; *učer*, J. Price; *wuzer*, M. Lovell. The two first are influenced by Welsh Romani. [S. and C. *woóser*.]

REVIEW

Linguistic Survey of India, vol. xi. Gipsy Languages. Calcutta, 1922.

THIS volume of the *Survey* deals with a number of peculiar dialects used by various nomadic tribes, whose way of life has more or less resemblance to that of Gypsies. There are in India other tribes, which are nomadic and could equally well be described as Gypsies or 'Criminal' tribes; but they speak the ordinary local dialects of their area, and so call for no notice in a linguistic survey. The peculiar dialects recorded are partly mixed dialects that have got out of place, *e.g.* the Habūrās speak Gūjarātī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doāb and the Sānsīs of Siālkot district speak a mixture of Hindostānī and Pañjābī; and partly they are artificial *argots* with the familiar devices of foreign words, inversion of letters, substitutions and additions.

All this throws no direct light on the origin of Romani. Even if one believes that the Romani tribes are connected with the Ḍoms, that is no reason why one should expect the speech of various kinds of Ḍoms in India to-day to resemble Romani more than other Indian dialects. In any case it does not. In an indirect way, however, this study may prove of value to students of European Gypsies and their language. Ethnologists have classed all these Indian 'Gypsy' tribes as belonging to one race of 'Dravidian' or aboriginal features, and it appears that they have adopted an Aryan language probably in Central India or Rājputana. Professor Sten Konow hazards the hypothesis that the European Gypsies may be members of the same vagrant race, which came up to the North-West and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice among frontier tribes.

The present writer made a similar suggestion about ten years ago, but putting the starting-point in the Ḍom country further east (*J. P. H. S.*, ii. 120). Any such hypothesis must admit a considerable amount of mixture with vagrants of a more northern type, whether they were ancient aboriginal tribes ranging through the northern jungles or individual outlaws from 'Aryan' stocks. Such mixture may account for the great variation in type among the Gypsies of Europe and the Near East.

The way in which dialects are now mixed by wandering tribes, whose *boli* can be analysed into elements of known languages, suggests that the dialects of the first 'proto-Romani' to leave India may have been mixed in a similar way, although we have not the detailed knowledge of the contemporary languages which would enable us to check this hypothesis. Professor Sten Konow suggests the possibility that the special character of Armenian Gypsy may be due to some of the same race passing on out of India before they had been long enough in the N.W. to absorb those very peculiarities that have come to be regarded as the very essential features of Romani. That is a matter that requires examination.

The only two words of Romani which seem to echo peculiar Indian Gypsy words are *jukel* and *gājo*. Myānwāle *jukelā*, Sānsī *chhukal*, Kanjarī *jhūkil*, all mean 'dog,' and some relationship seems obvious. The connection of Sānsī *kajjā*, 'man,' etc., with *gājo* is not quite so convincing.

A. C. WOOLNER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

14.—TURKISH GYPSIES, 1847-1850

In his *Travels in European Turkey, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles; and a homeward tour through Hungary and the Slavonian provinces of Austria on the Lower Danube* (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1853), although the book extends to two volumes, it is evident that the author, Edmund Spencer, Esq., could not afford to devote many pages to Gypsies, and we must be grateful for the fact that he does mention them eleven times in nine hundred dull pages. In Servia, between Jagodin and Alexinitz, driven by a torrent of rain he was glad to seek shelter among a colony of Gypsies: 'I thought the dwellings of the good Servians sufficiently primitive, but the architectural efforts of this vagrant race were not superior to those of the beaver. The men and women were nearly naked, the children entirely so, with a most swarthy complexion, white teeth, bright jet-black eyes, and a profusion of tangled raven-black hair; the expression of their countenances was singularly wild and forbidding. They were all engaged either at smith's work, or in fashioning wooden bowls and spoons. They appeared to be comparatively well off, as they had plenty of goats and sheep browzing on the

neighbouring hill, and kept horses for sale. During summer they send expeditions of their people to search for gold in the mountain rivers of Bosnia, Upper Moesia, and the Balkan. I was surprised to see how large a quantity they had collected, and of which the chief was desirous I should become the purchaser. They had also picked up some valuable pebbles during their wanderings.

'Our gipsy friends most hospitably urged us to remain their guests for the night, and kindly set before us raki and cake baked in the ashes; they gave additional force to their solicitations, by pointing out the flesh-pots bubbling over the fire, and the good cheer they would afford. This was an abomination to a devout Christian like Georgy [his Servian *kiraidji*], who cursed them as Pagans. As for myself, however tempting might be the savoury odour arising from the flesh-pots, I had no desire to take up my quarters with a people, who unfortunately do not add the virtue of cleanliness to that of hospitality. Hence, in spite of the drenching rain, we once more set out to reach a han . . .' (vol. i. pp. 62-3).

Protesting against the manners of an author who honours pagans with a capital P, and insults hospitable Gypsies with a little g, we may note that there was some excuse for the want of skill in architecture which the latter displayed, since the dwellings of the Servian peasants themselves were as primitive as Balkan Gypsy huts usually are. He describes them (vol. i. p. 33) as 'constructed of poles stuck in the ground, secured to each other with wicker-work, and plastered inside and out with clay, and then covered with reeds, or some description of sedge, to keep out the rain, with the everlasting hole in the roof to serve as a chimney. . . . In some situations, for instance, on the undulating sides of a hill, we found some of these huts, simply excavated out of the earth, the soil above supported by poles, and beams of wood, as a roof, while the hole in the centre, doing the duty of a chimney, served at the same time as a dangerous pitfall at our horses' feet, and as a medium for observing the movements of the family beneath.' Spencer met Gypsy horse-dealers again at Prizren in Upper Albania, where, his horse being unfit to continue the journey, he was glad to sell it to one of them; for the Gypsy 'in this country, among the other trades of his errant race, exercise [*sic*] the profession of horse-dealer and farrier, and is said to be acquainted with many valuable secrets in the veterinary art' (vol. ii. p. 15).

While still in Albania, bivouacking within the walls of what had been a fortified castle between Klisoura and Premetti, he had a curious experience of Gypsy fortune-telling: 'We found in a corner of the ruin an encampment of gipsies, as naked as if they had been savages; the women soon flocked around us, entreating to tell our fortunes. Pietro [courier of the English Consul at Jannina] and our fellow-travellers jestingly deposited a handful of paras, to which I added a silver zwanziger, which we promised to bestow upon them if their divining art could tell of what country I was a native; my dress and manners indicated I was a Frank, but from what part of Frangistan appeared impossible for them to ascertain; my dark hair and bronzed complexion, bespoke a Spaniard or an Italian, and my features were not moulded in any peculiar national type. The young sybils shook their heads in despair; not so an old crone, who hobbled out from a heap of rags, so withered and wrinkled that she might have passed for a mummy restored to life. After having examined my form and features most attentively, to the utter astonishment of my companions and myself, the old witch swept off the coins, as she exultingly exclaimed "Ingleski!" This was the more singular, since I had not uttered a syllable in her presence; nor could she have had the slightest intimation, as to who or what I was, from any of my companions' (vol. ii. p. 169).

Some of the references to Gypsies are of small interest; as for instance that (vol. i. p. 70) which mentions their presence among the mixed nationalities confined in the quarantine station at Alexinitz; that (vol. ii. p. 344) where they

are included in the equally mixed population of Adrianople; or that (vol. ii. p. 415) which refers to their presence in Hungary. But occasionally the race is mentioned in connection with some custom or trade. When travelling in Bulgaria he notes: 'Our first welcome to Nissa was from a colony of half-naked gipsies encamped under the walls of the fortress, who beset us with the most noisy importunities. These were the first beggars I had seen since I left the regions of wealth and luxury' (vol. i. p. 128). In describing Nissa itself (vol. i. p. 137) he states that the cemetery 'serves as a place for the encampment of some tribe of nomades, generally gipsies.' He records also (vol. i. p. 348) that 'The Jews and gipsies [in Bosnia] labour under the accusation of sorcery and witchcraft, particularly if they are old and ill-looking, and sometimes fall victims to the monomania of those who consider themselves, their families, or their flocks and herds bewitched.' When the author was camping with Arnouts in Macedonia, between Prilip and Bittoglia, 'a ragged gipsy, almost as dark as a negro, was trying to extract music from his pipes, in return for the privilege of being allowed to pick the bones the Arnouts threw away' (vol. ii. p. 44). Finally he mentions (vol. ii. p. 364) that in Turkey even the Gypsies 'have caught the solemn taciturn manners of their lords' the Turks.

Among matters only indirectly of Gypsy interest may be mentioned the fact that the Turkish women in Thrace wear 'a quantity of gold and silver coins braided in the hair' (vol. ii. p. 326), and that it is not only the Gypsies who leave their houses on St. George's Day; for the mountaineers of Servia 'sleep in the open air from St. George's Day to the middle of October' (vol. i. p. 49), while on the same festival the shepherds 'leave their winter quarters, and again take to the fields' (vol. i. p. 87).

R. A. S. Macfie.

15.—The Dialect of the 'Belgian' Gypsies

The following, and many other, sentences were taken down by me from the so-called 'Belgian' Gypsies who were wintering in London in November 1919. It will be seen that this dialect is, practically speaking, that of the German Gypsies of the Rhine Province as recorded in 1902-3:—

1. *Handrêla-peske bal.*
   She combs her hair.
2. *Randerwela peskro šêro.*
   He scratches his head.
3. *Dikâwa les ma džimáster-bute-gâr.*
   I shall never see him again.
4. *Kmómes gern te dikáb tut wâwer tasárla.*
   I would have liked to see you yesterday morning.
5. *Ves les i bâri pâgi.*
   He received a severe punishment.
6. *Kurdés-peske o klisténser.*
   He fought with the police.
7. *Denkerâwo ke prindžerâwo les. Dikóm les kai dui berš.*
   I think I know him. I saw him two years ago.
8. *Hi-lo fordéχtego rído.*
   He is clothed in rags.
9. *Kerdén-le mómeli an.*
   They lit the candle.
10. *Gjas-peske peskr roméhe ki Marseilles bi peskr čâvo.*
    She went with her husband to Marseilles without her son.

11. *Dikâwo len tai-môli apo-bâro drom.*
I see them sometimes on the high road.
12. *Kâwo pukerél ap ménde.*
He will betray us.
13. *K'o Dewel rikerél temén. Čen Debléhe.*
May God protect you. Remain with God.
14. *Hi-li zéneli for o graiénge, kaš for i jag.*
There is grass for the horses and wood for the fire.
15. *Krē les kjáke, ma ker les gār wāwerčándes.*
Do it like this, don't do it otherwise.
16. *Nášte kerâwo les ganz leicht.*
I can do it quite easily.
17. *Ma štil les nit an.*
Don't touch him.
18. *Dža sik, oder džâes-peske, hi les vek.*
Go quickly, or he will have departed, will be off.

A horizontal line above a vowel means that the vowel in question is long in the sense meant by Miklosich, Finck, and most other Continental authors when they used this sign to denote vowel length, and not in the sense in which it is used by Miss D. E. Yates in her *Four Rumanian Gypsy Songs*, Vol. i. Part 3, Third Series, or by Dr. Sampson in his phonetic scheme as set forth in Notes and Queries, Vol. i. Part 2, Third Series. To take but two examples: Dr. Sampson writes 'Romanī' in the notes just quoted, and Miss Yates has *leskō*. In both these cases Continental authors would not have used the long-vowel sign. Dr. Sampson says that 'in unstressed syllables ending in a vowel, final *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, are generally only half long, and may therefore be written *ā* or *a*, *ē* or *e*, *ī* or *i*, *ō* or *o*.' He adds that in Welsh 'Romanī' he uses the former. This explains *leskō*, and such like words. But it does not explain *sō*, *mōtodém*, and similar words, which are written by Continental authors and by myself, *so*, *motodém*, in all Continental dialects, save perhaps some which are subject to Hungarian influence. I think that an explanation of this diversity of opinion is to be found partly in the fact that nearly all East European and South-East European dialects of Romani have, generally speaking, *all* their vowels half long (or half short, which is the same thing), as have also the Russian and Rumanian languages, a fact already noted by many German authors of Russian grammars. Most writers in the past have rendered these half-long sounds by the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

In this connection it is worth noting that the vowel sound in the English word 'note,' which Dr. Sampson compares to his Welsh Romani sound '*ō*,' is generally recognised as being 'half long,' as well as, of course, 'impure.' (Cf. Aug. Western's *Englische Lautlehre*, Heilbronn, Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1885.)

1. *Handrēla:*—cf. Balkan dialects, *χrandav*, I comb, scratch, dig, etc.
2. *Randerwēla:*—cf. Balkan dialects, *χrandjarav*, I scratch, dig, etc.
4. *Kmómes:*—cf. Balkan dialects, *kamljomas*.
5. *Pāgi:*—cf. Finck (*Lehrbuch*) *pāki;* Jesina (*Romáňi Čib*) *pchāgi*.
13. *K':*—This is the French 'que' in *Que Dieu vous garde*.

B. Gilliat-Smith.

16.—The Vocabulary of the Zincali

Has any one ever discovered the source which Borrow used in preparing the vocabulary published in *The Zincali*? Most of the words he may well have collected himself; but there is considerable internal evidence that some were taken from an earlier Spanish work. Irving Brown.

INDEX TO VOLUME II

By BEN. R. GIBBS, B.A.

G = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

There are important sub-alphabets under 'Etymologies,' 'Folk-tales,' 'Names, G. Christian,' 'Names, G. Surnames,' 'Names, G. Tribal or Race,' 'Notes and Queries,' 'Occupations,' 'Romani Dialects,' 'Romani Words.'

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